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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE NEW NEGRO CODE.

THE AMENDED LAW CONCERNING COLORED PEOPLE.

THE Columbia (South Carolina) correspondent of the Richmond *Enquirer* gives the following synopsis of the bill "to establish and regulate the domestic relations of persons of color, and to amend the law in relation to 'Paupers, Vagrancy and Bastardy,'" enacted by the legislature of South Carolina during the present special session. The bill is not as yet law, but will be as soon as the constitutional Governor elect can approve it.

HUSBAND AND WIFE.

The first section, establishing the relation of husband and wife, declares as such those now living together. If one man have two or more reputed wives, or one woman two or more husbands, the man or woman shall immediately select one, and the ceremony may be performed by any clergyman, district judge, magistrate, or judicial officer. Colored children hereafter born are declared legitimate. Cohabitation in cases criminal and civil is evidence of marriage. A pauper is not competent to marry, nor can an apprentice without consent of master do so. Parties cannot leave each other, and if they do, may be punished by fine and *corporeal* punishment. If a husband fails to maintain his wife and children, he may be bound to labor from year to year by the district judge. In like manner a wife may be bound. The abandoned wife can make a contract for service, and do in all cases like an unmarried woman, except contract marriage.

PARENT AND CHILD, GUARDIAN AND WARDS.

The relation of parent and child confers all the rights and remedies, and imposes all the duties incident thereto by law. The father shall support and maintain his children, whether they be born of one of his reputed wives, or of any other woman. So is the relation of guardian and ward extended to colored persons.

MASTER AND APPRENTICE.

A male child from two to twenty-one, and a female child from two to eighteen years of age, may be bound as an apprentice to any respectable white or colored person. Illegitimate children can be bound by the mother. The district judge may bind children of absentees, paupers, bad persons, vagrants, or criminals. The master shall teach the apprentice the business of husbandry, or some other useful trade or business; shall furnish wholesome food, clothing, teach him habits of industry, honesty and morality, govern and treat him with humanity, and send him to school for six months in every year, provided the district judge approve of the teacher. The master can inflict moderate chastisement, and impose reasonable restraint upon his apprentice, and recapture him if he depart from service. In case of habitual violation or neglect of duties, the master or apprentice may complain to the magistrate, who can rectify the complaint. The district judge alone can dissolve the apprenticeship. The master is liable to indictment, fine and imprisonment, as well as damages, for the apprentice. At the expiration of his term of service the apprentice to receive a sum not exceeding sixty dollars.

CONTRACT FOR SERVICE.

The terms of master and servant are established. The period of service to be expressed in the contract; wages may be fixed, on application, by the district judge or magistrate. Contracts can be set aside for fraud or unfairness. Must be approved within twenty-one days by the judge, and in writing. For neglect to make contracts with servants, the master is liable to a fine of fifty dollars, and not less than five dollars for each servant so employed. If the party receive but food and clothing for service, no contract is required.

REGULATIONS OF LABOR ON FARMS.

Hours of labor, except on Sunday, from sunrise to sunset, with intervals for meals. Servants must *rise at dawn*, feed, water and care for the animals, etc., *and begin regular work at sunrise*. Servants answerable for all property lost, destroyed or injured by his negligence, dishonesty or bad faith. Lost time deducted from wages. Servants to be quiet and orderly in their quarters, at work and on the premises. Work at night and outdoor work in inclement weather shall not be expected, unless in case of necessity. Necessary Sunday work to be done by turn; absentees on Sunday to return home by sunset. Master may give a reasonable task at work. If there is complaint, the judge is to determine the daily task. Failure to do task shall be evidence of indolence. When a servant contracts, he may be required to rate himself as a full hand, three-quarters, one-half, or one-quarter hand. Visitors not to be invited by the servants *without express permission*. Servants shall not be absent from the premises without permission.

RIGHTS OF MASTER AS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND SERVANT.

If a servant departs from service without good cause, he forfeits the wages due him. The servant must obey all lawful orders, be honest, truthful, sober, civil and diligent. The master may moderately correct servants under eighteen years of age.

CAUSES OF DISCHARGE OF A SERVANT.

A servant can be discharged for wilful disobedience, habitual negligence or indolence, drunkenness, gross moral or legal misconduct, want of respect and civility to master, family, guests or agents, prolonged absence from the premises, or repeated absence without permission. If the master does not wish to discharge the servant he may complain to the judge, who may cause to be inflicted on the servant suitable *corporeal* punishment, or impose fines.

RIGHTS OF MASTERS AS TO THIRD PERSONS.

Masters not liable for voluntary trespasses, torts, misdemeanors, unauthorized contracts or acts on the part of the servant. The master's right of self-defence embraces his servant. He must protect his servant from violence by others in his presence. Any person enticing away, harboring or detaining a servant, or beating, confining, disabling or injuring him, is liable to a penalty of twenty to two hundred dollars, imprisonment or hard labor. A master may command the aid of his servant in defence of his own person, family, premises or property, or that of any other servant on the premises. The master is not bound to furnish medicine or medical assistance; must give a certificate of character to servant, and no servant shall contract without such certificate.

RIGHTS OF SERVANT AS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MASTER.

The servant may depart from service for insufficient supply of wholesome food, unauthorized battery, invasion by the master of his conjugal rights, failure of payment of wages. If wrongfully discharged, he may recover wages according to contract. He can demand a certificate.

MUTUAL RIGHTS OF MASTER AND SERVANT.

Whenever a master discharges his servant, the latter may enter a complaint before the judge, who must hear the case. The judge can compel the return of the servant, and make the master receive him back.

RIGHTS OF SERVANTS AS TO THIRD PERSONS.

Servant not liable for contracts made by the express authority of his master, nor is he liable for any act done by command of his master in the defence of the master's person, family, guests, agents, servant, premises, or property.

HOUSE SERVANTS AND OTHERS NOT IN HUSBANDRY

are under the same regulations as other servants, with this modification: they must obey calls at all hours of the day and night, on all days of the week; and it is their duty to be especially civil and polite to their masters, their families and their guests; they shall receive kind and gentle treatment.

MECHANICS, ARTISANS AND SHOPKEEPERS

cannot pursue or practice their art, trade or business without license from the District Court, under heavy penalties.

EVICTION OF PERSONS OF COLOR

in the case of those who were the slaves of the owner of the houses, farm or lands on which they now may be, and who have been on such houses and lands for six months previous to 1st November, 1865, and who are helpless either from old age, infancy or disease, shall not take place before the first day of January, 1867; but the owner shall have exclusive jurisdiction over such property now so inhabited in all respects; he may also expel intruders and prevent their return with the aid of the district courts. Leases to a person of color must be in writing. The laws on

BASTARDY.

in this act apply only to persons of color. In all other respects they are similar to the legal provisions regulating it in the case of white persons. The line between white and black is strictly drawn.

PAUPERS.

If a person of color becomes unable to earn a support, each relative shall, according to ability contribute to a "Board of Relief of Indigent Persons of Color," to be established in every district of the State, composed of magistrates. The owners of houses and premises in every district are, when required by said board, to make a list of the indigent on said premises for the information of the board. The board will then inquire into the actual state of these poor persons of color. A fund for their support is established, into which go all fees paid for the approval of contracts, instruments of apprenticeship, and for licences granted; all fines penalties and forfeitures. Strict regulations are made regarding the drawing and distribution of said fund. If it prove insufficient, the District Judge may impose a yearly tax of one dollar on *each male person of color* between eighteen and fifty years old, and on *each unmarried female* between eighteen and forty-five years of age, a tax of fifty cents, to be paid into the fund.

VAGRANCY AND IDLENESS

are declared public grievances, punishable as crimes. Vagrants are persons without abode or employment, without some visible means of a fair, honest, and respectable livelihood, travelling venders, and peddlers without license gamblers, idlers and disorderly persons, keepers and frequenters of disorderly or disreputable houses, fortune-tellers, sturdy beggars, poachers, etc., etc. They are to be arrested and tried by the *magistrate and five freeholders*, and, if convicted, punished by imprisonment and hard labor up to twelve months. The defendant, after conviction, may be hired by the judge for such wages as can be obtained for his services for the term of labor to which he was sentenced.

WADE HAMPTON'S LETTER.

THE STATE ABOVE EVERYTHING—HIS SERVICES TENDERED TO THE STATE.

WADE HAMPTON in leaving the country, has addressed a letter to the people of South Carolina, thanking them for the vote they gave him. The spirit of the letter indicates the kind of men deemed fit for a Governor by a few score less than half the votes of the State. In closing he says:

The bark which was launched a few years ago, amid such joyous acclamations, which was freighted with such precious hopes, and was wafted on by such earnest prayers, has suffered shipwreck. It behooves us, as wise men, to build of its broken timbers, as best we may, a raft, wherewith we may hope to reach a haven of rest and safety.

It may be that when the forms of government are restored, and freedom of speech is allowed to us, your late Convention will be subjected to harsh criticism and its action impugned. Should such, unhappily, be the case, remember that you, the people of South Carolina, accepted this Convention as part and parcel of the terms of your surrender. The President had no shadow of authority, I admit—under the Constitution of the United States—to order a Convention in this or any other State; but as a conqueror, he had the right to offer, if not to dictate, terms. The terms offered by him you have accepted, and you are bound by every dictate of honor and manliness to abide by them honestly, and to keep in good faith the pledges you have given. I do not myself concur fully in all the measures adopted by the Convention; but I shall cheerfully acquiesce in the action it took to carry out faithfully the terms agreed on, and I willingly accord to it high praise for the manner in which it discharged its arduous and unwelcome labors. No similar body ever represented more largely than it did the dignity, the learning, the virtue and the patriotism of the State, and I am sure that it was actuated by pure and high motives. Entertaining these views, I think that it is our duty to sustain the action of the Convention in recognizing the abolition of slavery, to support the President of the United States so long as he manifests a disposition to restore all our rights as a sovereign State, and to give to our newly elected Governor a cordial co-operation in his grave and responsible duties. Above all, let us stand by our State—her record is honorable, her escutcheon untarnished. Here is our country—the land of our nativity, the home of our affection. Here all our hopes should center; here we have worshipped the God of our fathers; here, among charred and blackened ruins, are the spots we once fondly called our homes; and here we buried the ashes of our kindred. All these sacred ties bind us to our State, and they are intensified by her suffering and her desolation—

> And, as a child, when scaring sounds molest,
> Clings close and closer to the mother's breast;
> So the loud torrent and the whirlwind's roar
> But bind us to our native land the more.

I trust that you will pardon me for thus venturing to counsel you. Believe me, that it is in no presumptuous feeling that I do so, but solely an honest, sincere and humble hope of contributing my mite to the welfare and honor of the State. What I have said has been evoked by your recent manifestations of kindness to me. This I shall cherish as one of the proudest recollections of my life, for it assures me of your belief that I have tried to do my duty. It only remains for me, in bidding you farewell, to say, that whenever the State needs my services she has only to command and I shall obey.

I am very respectfully and gratefully, your fellow-citizen, WADE HAMPTON.

HORSE RAILROAD OUTRAGE.—The Cincinnati *Enquirer* contains the following:

Isaac Young, a colored man of this city, has recovered, in the Superior Court, eight hundred dollars from the Passenger Railroad Company, damages, for being ejected from one of the cars of the company. He did not appear to have received any injury from the expulsion except that of being compelled to walk home. We cannot but look upon the sum awarded to him in damages as excessive—beyond measure exorbitant. Vindictive damages are only given in cases where the malice is apparent. It would require special proof that a general rule established by a corporation and carried out by its servants, was enacted and enforced out of enmity to a particular individual. Mr. Young, under the law as it is interpreted was entitled to payment for the slight and temporary inconvenience which he sustained. This was the by the jury, which seemed ready to take that occasion to signalize its love for the colored man, at the expense both of justice and the white one. We suppose that so flagrant and apparent a perversion of justice ought to entitle the party defendant to a new trial.

[The *Enquirer* seems incapable of appreciating anything beyond the lowest letter of the law. Such outrages as are constantly perpetrated on respectable colored people on many of our Railroads, would be scarcely compensated by forfeiture of charter of every Corporation guilty of them. And the law itself strictly enforced would in some places do it. But the victims are only colored, and so who cares?]

Selections.

A MEMORIAL

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the House of Representatives:

PRIOR to the War of the Rebellion, many friends of the Republic were of the opinion that the power of the President was too great, and too independent of the control of the People or their Representatives. During the war the exercise of this power has led to the most dangerous errors, and corrupting abuses which the best Republicans and Patriots had previously apprehended. It has compelled Congress to give up one of the most important acts, and to behold its will supplanted by an opposing Executive Order. Since the close of the War, it has been so exercised by the present incumbent of the Presidential Office as to make the People and Congress appear altogether unimportant and insignificant; and to remind the reflecting observer rather of the institutions and power of an absolute monarchy, than of those of a Democratic Republic. To such an extent, indeed, has he carried his arbitrary acts, that even a Senator, always moderate in his modes of expression, has felt himself compelled to remind him that he could not yet say of himself, like the French autocrat: "The State, I am it!" To be sure, President JOHNSON has not yet employed this language of absolute power; but he has sought, by the whole tenor and spirit of his official conduct, to make it true, even to the last letter.

The people of the North by the exertion of their utmost strength, and the offering upon the altar of their country of hitherto unheard of sacrifices, have, at last, after four years of war, succeeded in crushing the Rebellion, which, armed with abundant means by the aid of a double treachery, both from within and without, succeeded in rendering doubtful for a long time, not merely the existence of the Union, but that, also, of the Republic itself. The tremendous efforts required to extinguish this dangerous Rebellion, have shaken the nation through every limb, and to its its remotest extremeties. The course of this great contest and the necessities it imposed, produced changes in the opinions and conditions of the people that had not been before so much as dreamed of. Old organizations perished; and new principles of national life, development and civilization arose to claim the attention and control the action of statesmen. As from the War of Independence the nation dates its birth, so from the great War for the Union must it henceforth date its regeneration. If ever any people were interested in building for their country a better future, those of the United States should now be so. As no true Democrat, after the War of Independence, ever thought of surrendering into the hands of the Chief Executive Officer, the whole power of the people, in order to enable him to dictate a constitution and laws; so, it is believed, no true friend of popular government and free institutions, will now regard it as at all compatible with the Government then established, to permit the President to assume to himself the power of reconstructing government in the late rebellious states, and of prescribing, according to his own mere will, the terms upon which they and their rebellious people shall again be admitted into the Union, allowed to enjoy the protection of its laws, and the privileges of its government.

A sense of duty arising from the nature of his office, the importance of the occasion, and above all, the fact that the Constitution has conferred upon Congress the right "to suppress insurrections," and, as incidental thereto, the right to determine the result of such suppression, should have taught the President that the work of reconstruction belonged to Congress; and, if the urgency of that labor did not admit of its being postponed until the next Regular Session should have impelled him at once to call an extra Session that the interests of the Union might not suffer by delay on the one hand, or by his unauthorized exercise of despotic and arbitrary power on the other.

But, instead of following this safe and constitutional method, he has pursued a systematic plan for the adjustment of these most important matters, the manifest effect and object of which are to exclude Congress from having any lot or part in the settlement. He seems, indeed, to have determined to accomplish it in a spirit at once opposed to the interests of the people who, by their courage, perseverance, and sacrifice, have crushed the Rebellion and preserved the Government, and to the principles of the Government itself. With a busy activity, he has labored to complicate the work of reconstruction by laying many hindrances, in the form of accomplished facts, in the way of the action of Congress toward the accomplishment of the final and proper adjustment of our national affairs, on its own previously announced principle—a principle securing the right of freedom to all. In this way, he seems to have aimed at placing beyond the power of Congress to establish on just principles, what he has thus already spoiled. By pursuing his own impracticable and ruinous scheme he has given the lie to all his former professions; mocked at and insulted justice and law, degraded the dignity of his great office, and is, so far as he can, restoring to all their former rights the still unrepentant enemies of the Republic, and arming them anew with power, as if it were his purpose to reconstruct, not the Republic, but the Rebellion. The pardoning power, designed as a means to mitigate justice for the public interest, has, in his hands, become a means to abolish justice for the public ruin. No rebel, however black his treason, or atrocious his barbarity, has been excluded from his favor, while the negro, whose faithful attachment, and courageous self-sacrificing spirit have contributed greatly to save the Republic, is, so far as the President has been able, still kept down by him in a pariah condition, more oppressive even than slavery itself. To secure the interest of a treacherous landed aristocracy he exerts his entire energies, while the freedom-loving people of the North behold themselves cheated of all the legitimate fruits of their enormous sacrifices, as if the fearful war had only been conducted to show which section could fill the most graves. That for which a million Union soldiers fought in a hundred bloody battles, the Commander-in-Chief destroys with a single stroke of his pen. He seeks to appease traitors by granting them privileges, and betrays the friends of the Republic by abandoning them. It is as if treason, at first called "the greatest of crimes," had been suddenly transformed into the greatest of merits, and loyalty, by striving for universal freedom and justice, had become a crime. In view of his conduct, we have a right to ask, if any rebel had been placed in his position would he have ventured to do more in the interests of his companions in crime than the President has done?

Congress has enacted a law concerning the confiscation of the property of Rebels. The President annuls it by returning them their property. Congress has, by laws, excluded traitors from public office. The President treats it with contempt by appointing traitors to the most important offices. Yet, it is the President upon whom the Constitution lays the obligation of providing for "the proper execution of the laws."

To leave in office three years longer a man who thus abuses his power by creating conditions that carry within them the germs of another civil war, should be considered treason to the Republic. The nation has a right to know whether its first servant is appointed as an Autocrat, or as a Republican officer.

[The above comes to us on a handsomely-printed sheet and has been issued, we are told, by the German Radicals. It is to say the least a forcible and truthful paper, and worthy to be read by all reflecting men.]

THE SUFFRAGE.

From Harper's Weekly.

THE suffrage question has many aspects. It is both denied and asserted with equal vehemence that political rights are natural rights; but every American at least must be very wary how he commits himself to the negative of the proposition. If governments justly exist by the consent of the governed, it is rather difficult to show that there is no higher claim to a share in political power than the consent of those who already enjoy it. That it may be withheld is very possible. That it can be justly withheld is not evident.

But in the discussion of impartial suffrage in the late rebel States we may descend from the heights of abstract right, and regard the point as purely one of expediency. It is asked, and fairly enough, whether in the condition of public opinion in the loyal States, as shown in the Connecticut refusal of impartial suffrage; in the defeat of the same proposition in Wisconsin by a majority of ten thousand in the popular vote, while the Union ticket was elected by eight thousand; and in the disabling suffrage laws of many of the other States, it is advisable to insist upon impartial suffrage in the States which are to be reorganized. We say this question is fair and natural enough, but the subject must be regarded from the point of view of the national welfare.

Thus, in a State like Connecticut, which is indisputably faithful to the Government, it is not directly essential to the national safety that the two thousand colored men should be allowed to vote. It is a pitiful disgrace to the State; but it is not essential to the nation, because the non-voters are so few, and because the political power remains steadily in patriotic hands. So also in Wisconsin and other Western States. But in Georgia or Mississippi the considerations are very different. In those States the question of impartial suffrage involves directly the national welfare. The point of inquiry is, whether if political power be intrusted exclusively to the late rebels with their present disposition, the State will maintain that intimate and hearty relation with the National Government which is indispensable, and whether the dangers of impartial suffrage there are not very much more than balanced by those of partial suffrage?

It is not a question for passion or rhetoric, but for the calmest and most thorough deliberation.

A RUN AMONG THE RECONSTRUCTED.

RICHMOND—TEMPER OF THE VIRGINIANS.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 19.

WASHINGTON was intensely dull; the politicians all seemed disposed to stay away till the last moment, and all political interest, prior to the meeting of Congress, attached to regions South of rather than on the Potomac. And so I have started out for a hasty run among the Reconstructed.

The last time I came to Richmond, it was thought to be something of a feat to make the trip in two days. Now you do it in a night—leaving Washington at nine o'clock, and being roused up in Richmond next morning at five.

Richmond is fallen from its estate, but it is a capital still. The brains, the pluck and the pride of the rebellion are here, and the rebel capital still leads the returning rebel States. I do not think the Northern public ever appreciated the amount of journalistic talent concentrated here in the interest of the rebel cause. The newspapers of Richmond throughout the war were in many respects the ablest on the continent. Their writing was often turgid, but it was always effective; and it shaped the public sentiment of the whole Confederacy. Jeff. Davis himself was not above writing leaders for his organ, and Benjamin is reported to have been a frequent contributor. In the midst of their destitution they managed to keep up double the number of good dailies that we had in Washington, and the editorials of each were generally the productions of educated thinkers, as well as red-hot partizans. Fortunately, or unfortunately, a good share of the old ability and fervor clings to the revived newspapers of Richmond, and it is curious to see with what avidity the Virginians will gulp down the praises of their heroic dead, in which they tend to indulge so freely, since it is no longer safe to extol the deeds of the pardoned or pardon-seeking survivors.

Yet, with all the fervid zeal of the newspapers, I doubt if the great mass of the Virginians now care so very much for any active participation in political movements. At the outset, they are disgusted with their vulgar, drunken Governor. Then their ablest men are all ineligible to office, because steeped in the rebellion; and they have the haughty pride of old families, which revolts against encouraging the aspirations of unknown or odious upstarts. And, besides, while they make a great show of establishing civil government, the galling consciousness remains that, whether they choose it or not, they *must* walk in a certain path, or be suppressed by the military. As the *Enquirer* itself very forcibly says:

> As long as the civil authority is subordinate to the military there cannot and ought not to be any politics or any principles among a people so unhappily situated. A paper that is not as free to censure as to approve, has no virtue in its support, and no importance attaches to its utterances. Approbation is worthless where censure is forbid. The politics of the *Enquirer*, therefore, must be deferred until the return of those good times, when a free press is the bulwark of the State."

Even the hated "Radicals" will be apt to indorse so lucid a statement of so sound a principle. But they may possibly make the argument prove more than would be pleasing to Richmond. If there "ought not to be any politics among a people so unhappily situated," neither ought there to be the farce of a form without the substance of State government.

Though not exactly making this deduction, many Virginians, I think, are ready for almost any political arrangement that will leave them unembarrassed in repairing their shattered private fortunes. "I tell you," said a prominent man among them, "President Johnson can name his Senators and they will be straightway elected. He can say what he wants, and the Virginia Legislature, so-called, will register his edicts in legislative enactments. What we want is to get settled, to know where we are and what we can depend upon, and then we want to go to work developing our material resources. We're all poor; we want to regain our lost money, and we've got to let politics alone and go to work to do it."

Beneath all this, lie, of course, never abandoned hopes of regaining political supremacy, after the social authority that comes of wealth has been restored. But the first want of Virginians is a settlement, something fixed, on which capital can rely. They talk foolishly who say Virginia will not stand this, and the proud Virginians will revolt from that. The proud Virginians will stand anything, for the best of reasons. They can't help themselves. Let statesmen decide upon the course of statesmen for such emergencies, and be it pleasant or unpleasant, Virginia will submit, make the best of it, and go to work to better her condition.

WILL THE NEGRO WORK?

[To doubt whether Southern white men will work, and women too, would be preposterous. Everybody seems to take that for granted. It is only the negro who won't work. For him, the Providence *Journal* speaks thus:]

WE are continually informed that the negro will not work unless he is obliged to. Does it ever occur to these captious critics that in this respect Sambo shows himself to be "a man and a brother;" that in this respect, if in no other, he resembles the white man? By being obliged to work is to be understood as having some definite object and incentive for work. It is quite evident that neither a negro nor a white man will voluntarily work, when the proceeds of his labor go into the pockets of another. It is equally evident, that when food and clothing, comfort and competency, are the rewards of his labor, either will work. We are not acquainted with that enthusiastic creature, black or white, who works for the fun of it.

That the negro will work "when he is obliged to," is not questioned. The evidence to this effect is in the cotton and rice and sugar and tobacco of the South. To suppose that the prospect of comfort and independence for himself and his family will not afford as good a stimulus to faithful industry as two suits of clothes a year and a peck of meal a week, sweetened by the prospect of an occasional whipping, is to show a great ignorance of human nature. But the negroes of the South are naturally idle and thoughtless; very true, and so are the whites, when tried by any Yankee standard of industry and thrift. The fertility of the soil, the enervating climate, the ease with which the common wants of existence can be supplied, all work against habits of industry, just as the ungrateful soil and inhospitable climate of the North compel men to greater exertions and force them into laborious and self-denying modes of life. The same laws apply to both races in the same latitude. If it were true that the negro would not voluntarily perform the labor necessary to support himself, then the law of nature is inexorable. We should be troubled with only one generation of the race, and that not for a long time. That in some kinds of cultivation, free negro labor will be less productive than the slave labor has been we do not question; for at some periods of the growing crop, human strength has been often put to its utmost endurance; and although these trials were followed by periods of repose, the work was greater than any man ought to perform. It is not to be supposed, and is not to be desired, that men will voluntarily subject their health and strength to such exactions; but that on the whole more labor, and more profitable to the laborer and to the capitalist, will be performed under free institutions than under slavery is taught by reason, by history and common sense. The regeneration of the South will date from the emancipation of her labor. The development of her resources commences with the disenthrallment of those whose stout arms alone can bring them to light; and soon more work will be done there, in one year, by cheerful, prosperous and contented laborers, than was ever wrung in two years from the blood and sweat of slavery.

SOUTHERN REORGANIZATION.

To the Editors of the Commercial Advertiser:

THERE are three considerations which impel me to support the principle and policy of conferring the franchise on the freedman:

First—Because of the danger of again sectionalizing the Southern mind on the negro question.

Second—Because of the pernicious effect of such sectionalism upon national politics.

Third—Because of the relation of this subject to our great—I might, indeed, say, Divine international mission.

To deny the freedman the ballot is to remand him to menialism and serfdom, thus by this very act keeping alive the unjust and unchristian prejudice against him. This will perpetuate the old sectional feeling, keep alive resentments, and form, as did slavery, an all-absorbing sectional sentiment, which will be creative of Southern politics and policy. This sentiment will naturally become the basis of a party North, thus pandering to this sectionalism; but the misery will be that it will lash the South forever to the dead body of a hopeless minority.

The pernicious effect of such sectionalism upon national politics is a greater evil, as nationalism is greater than the interest of elections. You cannot destroy liberty South, without endangering it North. You cannot disfranchise one million citizens at the South, because of the prejudice of race, without striking a blow at equal citizenship at the North. Let the South confer the franchise on every citizen, or if there be a test, let it apply alike to every citizen, whether white or colored, and we can expect to see a grand reorganization of parties in America, based not only upon national, but upon international issues.

There are two principles upon which parties will form,

FREE TRADE AND MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

On one side will be the advocates of the limitations of the rights of citizenship, and of restrictions upon the rights of labor; on the other will be the advocates of a citizenship free from the limitation of class legislation, and unjust and selfish prejudices; and of labor free from the iniquities of unequal taxation and unjust restrictions. Those who believe that labor should have the right to sell the product of its industry in the dearest market, and supply its wants from the cheapest, will encounter the sophisms of those who still renew those dogmas of barbarism, that the consumer pays the export tax and that the producer pays the import tax. Those who contend that the surest and soonest road to a successful national industry is through the beneficent action of unrestricted competition, will be badly met by the assertion that the *function of Government is to give a bonus under a* taxation guarantee to a given class of men, to induce them to engage in an industry that will pay. The one party will claim that the precious metals being the universal standard of values, the domestic and foreign exchanges must be made to approximate to this standard. The other party will claim to be able to find a substitute for the precious metals. Thus the issue of political economy proper, effecting as they will the FREE LABOR and JUST TAXATION of the people, will enter sharply into national politics around every hearthstone. But growing out of these issues will arise the grander principles of SOCIAL SCIENCE, as applied to Republican government, furnishing the only basis of freedom and happiness in this country, and forming the nucleus of that direct international influence which America is destined to have upon the nations of the old world. And foremost in the great debate will be what with us is now the all-absorbing issue of the day—equality of citizenship, based on manhood suffrage.

The division of thought in this question will naturally take place upon the two propositions, representing the party of reaction and the party of progress. One will contend that the franchise is a matter of right, inherent in each man by reason of his citizenship. The other will declare that the question of franchise is a question of qualification to be conferred by the Government, and of which Government will be the judge, being limited by the wisdom of the "Government." On this issue, which is fundamental to the whole theory of popular Government, the fight will be made.

And this issue being calculated to lift its believers not only above the claims of party and the prejudices of sectionalism, but also above the broader selfishness of national cupidity, will attract to the cause of universal freedom and universal suffrage, many of the leading minds of the country at the sacrifice of inferior issues. This will be so, just as the sentiment of American nationality drew into the Union party men who were sublimated by the influence of one grand and absorbing principle.

I hold that the limitation of citizenship is a remnant of the feudal and monarchical impress left with slavery upon this country. In an aristocracy, *qualification* is the natural standard of suffrage. In a republic the standard is freedom and manhood. With us a man should not hold the exclusive control of the franchise, because he is a "rich" citizen, or a "great" citizen, or an "educated," "learned" or "wise" citizen. Neither should a freeman be disfranchised because he is a "poor" or "unlearned" or "uneducated" citizen. To claim that the right of franchise is not inherent in the citizen, is to claim that the powers of the Government are not derived from the will and consent of the governed. If that power which creates and controls a representative government is derivable from the government itself and subject to its limitation, to be composed or withdrawn at its pleasure, in what respect does such a social and political form approximate to the Declaration of American Independence? Is it not essentially aristocratic?

I contend that the true Republican interpretation of the American Declaration of Independence is in favor of the franchise as a matter of right, inherent in each and every citizen by reason of his manhood and citizenship, and that through this "right" the people indicate their "will" and "consent" to those who are simply their servants. The claim of qualification is the claim of the privileged class, is essentially monarchical, and rests upon the assumption that the greatest of all powers—the one thing which embraces all others, to wit—the franchise, is a matter to be conferred on the people by the Government.

Having thus briefly outlined the leading germinal issue of politics, political economy and social science which enters into the new epoch of American civilization, I propose, with your permission, to apply what I conceive to be the sound and proper interpretation of these issues, to the social, political and industrial reorganization of the South.

C. G. B., of Georgia.

ON THE RIGHT TRACK AT LAST.—The telegraph informs us that a bill has been drawn up at Washington, for presentation to Congress on the first days of its session, proposing a new scheme of restoration. It provides for the appointment of Governors by the President for each State lately in rebellion. The Governor so appointed is to have the power of appointment of Executive and Judicial officers within the State according to the laws of the State in force at the time of his entering into office, except such laws and enactments as may have been passed by a Legislature recognizing and co-operating with the so-called Confederate government after the passage of the ordinance of secession, in such State. The Governor is further authorized to organize Courts in accordance with the old laws of the State, and all his proclamations are to have the same force as the laws. He is to open a registry where all qualified voters irrespective of color can be registered on taking a stringent oath of allegiance; they are then to elect a Legislature, who are to provide a Constitution, on which Congress is to decide. If adopted by Congress, all military restriction on the States is to be abandoned. Each State will be admitted by separate votes, the same as territories are admitted.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

Now that we nearly approach the meeting of a Congress before whom will come questions of graver import and more lasting results than any that ever awaited the assembling of a national legislature in our country, suffer me, through your columns, briefly to invite the attention of the members-elect and of the public to a clause in the Constitution to which recent events have given an unlooked-for importance; and to a practical recommendation which, if brought forward by the proper men in the proper way, will, I think, command two-thirds of the votes in either House.

A word or two of preface touching the President and his recent policy.

Many good men think that he has placed too much confidence in the Southern ex-rebels; that he has pushed the Christian principles of forgiveness and conciliation beyond their prudent limits; and that he has been expecting and facilitating the political rehabilitation of the late insurgent States at a day too early to consist with the public safety and with the future domestic tranquillity of the Republic.

That may be, and the President himself may, today, perhaps admit it. But let us not, therefore, too hastily conclude that any harm has been done. It is seldom unwise to tender the olive-branch even to the unworthy. After a great national outbreak, clemency should first be tried; nor, in practice, can we continue through a long term to treat whole communities as culprits.

The South, wedded to her idols, has not responded to the magnanimous overtures of the President. Such, I doubt not, will be the judgment of Congress. Upon that judgment I believe Congress will act; and, if it does, no impediment, I feel assured, will be thrown in its way by our Chief Magistrate.

Andrew Johnson's past career is, in many respects, a noble one; and I do not believe that he will falsify it. I call to mind that, at Nashville, little more than one year ago, he declared to a large assemblage of negroes that "loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control the destinies of Tennessee;" and I remember when from the vast crowd of freedmen there came a voice claiming him as their Moses to lead them to the promised land, he replied: "Humble and unworthy as I am, if no other and better shall be found, I will indeed *be* your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace."

Conversing, a few weeks since, with an earnest thinker and a distinguished member of last Congress—Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland—that gentleman expressed in strong terms his conviction that the national safety is jeopardied if the Constitutional guarantee touching a republican form of government remain a dead letter. I wish that Mr. Davis were a member of the Congress about to convene, there to urge, as he did on the occasion referred to, his reasons for such an opinion. It is, beyond doubt, a correct one. We do well to look narrowly at this provision and its legitimate results.

It is the people of the whole nation through their National Government, not the people of any one State through their convention or their State legislature, who have the right, and upon whom is imposed the duty, to see that State governments are, and remain, republican in form. (Art. IV., Sec. 4.) And the whole people, not the people of a single State, are by the Constitution made the judges of what is a republican form of government.

If a State of the Union were to proclaim a monarchy, Congress would have the right to reject her representatives. But a republican form of government may be subverted by indirection as effectually as by proclamation of a monarchy. A State has a right, within certain limits, to decree the qualification of her voters. But any qualification may be pushed beyond the point of Republicanism. And when this happens, it devolves upon the National Government to enforce the Constitutional guarantee.

A State, if it see fit, may require a property qualification; as that a voter shall be a taxpayer or a householder; but if it push the principle so far as to require that he shall possess a hundred thousand dollars, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is violated thereby.

A State, if it see fit, may require a literary qualification, as that a voter shall be able to read the Constitution of his country; but if it push the principle so far as to require that he shall understand Sanscrit or read Homer in the original Greek, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is violated thereby.

A State, if it sees fit, may require a qualification of birth, as that a foreigner shall have been a three-year resident before he is entitled to vote; but if it should push this principle so far as to disfranchise all persons of foreign birth and their descendants, during lifetime, then large masses would be excluded, and the republican form of government would be violated thereby.

So, also, if a State disfranchise, because of race, the fiftieth part of her population, her action may violate justice, yet fall short of working a substantial change in her form of government. *(De minimis non curat lex.)* But if the number excluded by this qualification of race from participation in self-government amount to one-third or one-half or two-thirds of her entire population, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is essentially violated thereby.

If such disfranchisement be temporary, then it amounts to a temporary suspension of the republican form.

That the republican form, in the hitherto received American sense of the term, was not violated by the exclusion from suffrage of persons not free and of "Indians not taxed," is inferable from the Constitutional provision on that subject (Art. I, sec. 2); but as to native-born free citizens, of whatever race or color, owing allegiance, and paying taxes to the government, the Constitution, from its first article to its last, discriminates not at all between them. We have the same Constitutional right, and no more, to disfranchise one class or race of these as another. A State that disfranchises large masses of them substitutes the oligarchical form for the Republican. And Congress neglects a Constitutional duty if it permits this.

The right to check a State which should habitually violate, or temporarily suspend, a republican form of government, was wisely placed in the nation's hands; for such violation or suspension endangers the national unity—imperils domestic peace. Slavery, though tolerated by the Constitution, did substantially violate the republican form, and the late rebellion was the ultimate result.

At the present juncture, when the danger is that this Constitutional provision regarding a republican form of government may be violated in the persons of four millions of native-born citizens of African descent, an additional important consideration presents itself. Loyalty is scarce in the South, and it is precisely the most loyal portion of the Southern people who run the risk of disfranchisement. We may safely calculate upon the vote of the negro population, in mass, being cast for national representatives who will vote with us on all great national questions; as against repudiation of our debt, or assumption of the rebel debt. They will sustain us on such questions, not because they have financial knowledge or political experience, but because they have sagacious instincts. They understand who are their friends; they understand that their safety depends on voting with their friends; and they will do it.

There are two things, then, to be considered in this matter—our duty and our interest. They happen to coincide. God has decreed that if we neglect our Constitutional duty we suffer our political allies to be disfranchised; in other words, we permit to be deprived of suffrage, to the number of four millions, the friends of loyalty and the Union.

That is one side of the question. The other relates to expediency and public opinion.

Prejudice, when it pervades large masses of a population, ought to be reasoned with as a fact, and treated, to some extent, as a power. A wise legislator perceives its error without despising its influence. The moral world moves slowly, and it is difficult, sometimes dangerous, to overhurry its pace.

To such considerations much of the President's action is doubtless to be ascribed. The sun wa

more powerful than the wind in causing the traveller to discard his cloak. But forbearance, though an eminent duty, is often mistaken for weakness by the self-sufficient and the overbearing; and there is a large leaven of self-sufficiency and overbearing still at work in the South.

The world is not yet prepared (witness the last four years!) literally to practice, in the conduct of national affairs, Christ's injunction—when a man smites us on one cheek to turn the other also.

And as in the lives of men, so in the career of nations, there is a tide leading to fortune, which must be taken at the flood. There are certain conjunctures occurring now and then in national affairs, which, if we pass them by, return not for generations of men. We may suffer long in "shallows and in miseries," not alone for sins of commission, but more severely yet for seasons of action neglected and golden opportunities unimproved.

We shall have a majority, even of two-thirds, in the Congress which is soon to convene. There will come to that Congress applications by representatives from the late insurgent States. To these we are bound to listen. But we are *not* bound to receive them without due time for committee action and reflection. We are *not* bound to permit a dilution of the loyal working element in Congress, until, undiluted, it shall have done whatever is its necessary work. The four years upon which peace has now closed ought to have taught us much. They ought to have taught us what it is our bounden duty to provide not only against immediate, but against prospective dangers. They ought to have taught us the wisdom of Vattel's interpretation of the right of war when he says (Book III., section 44, 45): "If the safety of the State lies at stake, our precaution and foresight cannot be extended too far. Must we delay our ruin till it has become inevitable? * * An injury gives a right to provide for our future safety by depriving the unjust aggressor of the means of injuring us."

If we allow our late enemies, by permanently shutting out four millions of negroes from votes for President and Congressmen, to obtain for themselves, the whites of the South, twice as much political influence, man for man, as we of the North possess, we are, in my judgment, leaving them, as Vattel expressed it, "the means of injuring us." If they employ these means to our injury, a second war may ensue; for we have become, in a measure, accustomed to the arbitrament of the sword, and the North will not tamely tolerate from the South in the future what she has endured in the past. For the sake of both sections, then—for the sake of permanent domestic tranquillity—let us do what is necessary for safety while our present majority gives us the power to do it.

Whatever is really demanded by prudence and foresight we ought to do in the manner least offensive to our Southern fellow-citizens. Some offence, to the haughty and turbulent portion of these, we must give, and it is culpable weakness to shrink from it.

But these are generalities. Let us come to a definite proposition.

If the framers of the Constitution had anticipated such an insurrection as we have just quelled, I do not doubt that, besides giving Congress the right to determine the times, places and manner of holding elections for Congressmen, they would have given that body the further right to determine the qualifications of voters as well for Congressmen as for President. These are national offices; and I think it would have been expedient to vest in the nation—not in the separate States—the right to determine how they should be filled. I am quite sure that, in the present temper of the South, it is not safe to suffer each State to determine the qualifications of electors of Federal officers. The qualifications should be uniform in all the States, and the Representatives of the nation should determine these.

I propose, therefore, that Congress, *before admitting members from the late insurgent States*, should take the initiatory step *so to amend the Constitution that the qualifications of voters for President and Vice-President and for Representatives in Congress shall be determined by Congressional or Constitutional authority.* I think it best, to ensure permanent uniformity in a matter so vital as this, that the amendment should set forth, specifically, the qualifications to be required of the electors in question, at least in part. It should be provided that race or color shall *not* be a qualification, and *that the ability to read the Constitution shall be.*

It would be well to incorporate in the same amendment a provision that President and Vice-President shall be voted for *directly by the people.* The intervention of electoral colleges (a provision virtually annulled by public opinion) has long been a mere dead-letter incumbrance; and, as such, should be erased from the Constitution.

As to the literary qualification—the ability to read—it has in its favor at this time two recommendations; one temporary and of expediency, the other of principle and eternal. For, first, it is a compromise offered to the South on the negro-suffrage question, shutting out for the time being probably nineteen-twentieths of the African race; and, secondly, it is the first step in the assertion of two great principles—the one, that the accident of race shall not exclude a free citizen from self-government; and the other, that while monarchical Europe commonly selects property as a suffrage qualification, republican America substitutes for it the test of intelligence.

There are, it is true, exceptions to every rule, and, of course, there are to be found intelligent men who cannot read; but if these men have obtained such accurate political information as every voter ought to possess, they have collected it as a sailor shipwrecked on a desert island might wrest a living from the ground by cultivating it with a mason's trowel. They are almost in the benighted condition of men before the discovery of printing. They have not possessed themselves of the modern implements of knowledge. They should be required to procure these before they are admitted to exercise the solemn duty of suffrage.

We need something to remind us that it *is* a solemn duty. Suffrage has, of late years, and especially in our great cities, gradually come to be not only cheapened, but in a measure, dishonored and degraded. That cannot continue and increase without endangering our very form of government. Anything which tends to elevate suffrage in the eyes of those who exercise it, tends to the perpetuity no less than to the morality of the Republic.

Some will object to the amendment proposed, that it is insufficient for present purposes; being a compromise under which we should lose, for a generation of men, perhaps, the vote of a very large majority of the negro population; and that we cannot afford to lose so large a loyal vote in an emergency like the present. There is force in the objection. But in this slow-moving world it is often the question not what *should* be done, but what *can* be done. And the move, if it be not as great a stride as is desirable, is, emphatically, one in the right direction. We obtain a firm basis on which to build hereafter; and the evil which it fails at once to eradicate will be diminished year by year. No generation of men will elapse before the negro, free at last to enter the school-house, will have learned to read there. The incentive, alike to illiterate blacks and whites, to make up for lost time will be powerful beyond any other, perhaps, that law can create.

I have reason to believe that such a measure will be introduced in the early days of next Congress, by one of its ablest members; and that it will find favor in the highest quarters. It is not all that, in justice, we ought to secure; it may be all that, in practice, we shall be able to obtain.

Nor, if such an amendment is incorporated in the Constitution, can it be alleged that the North seeks to impose on the South provisions as to suffrage which some Northern States are themselves unwilling to adopt. Public opinion in the North will sustain it. Nor yet will there be pretence for assertion that State rights are invaded, since the measure affects voters for Federal officers only.

The North *has* the power, by making such an amendment a condition of readmission, to secure its adoption. She will evince little prudence or foresight if she suffers that power to pass from her hands.

As to the civil rights of the negro, if Congress admit a single ex-insurgent State without seeing to it that these are Constitutionally secured, the representatives of the nation will be doing worse than to neglect their duty in guaranteeing a republican form of government; they will be making the nation an accessory to an outrage on civilization. To deny the negro the right to testify in a court of justice is an act not of disfranchisement but of outlawry.

States have the right to pass laws regarding vagrants and paupers. But a State has no Constitutional right to incorporate in any such laws, or in any laws whatever defining the civil rights of free persons, a provision restricting their effect to any particular race of men. A State cannot, for example, Constitutionally enact a vagrant law that shall apply only to citizens of Irish descent. Such a law would be in violation of a republican form of government, to say nothing of its certain result; it would be the signal for an insurrection among the Irish all over the land.

The public desire is strong that fraternal relations between the lately warring sections of our country should be speedily re-established. That is well. To be reconciled to a brother is better than an altar-gift. Peace is a God-like visitor. But if she come with her white robes sullied with injustice, brief will be her sojourn among us.

Let not our eagerness for tranquillity, then, betray us into concessions alike perilous and dishonorable. We are in danger of this. One of the wisest of modern writers on public affairs has said: "When a nation has been wearied by long strife, it will submit to be duped for the sake of peace."

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, November 22, 1865.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

TREATMENT OF FREEDMEN—RECONSTRUCTION.

Special Correspondence of the Tribune.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Nov. 11, 1865.

THE policy of "reconstruction" works admirably in the State of South Carolina. There is a decidedly "healthy" love for the Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws. The "loyalty" of the people of this badly Shermanized State is beyond all question. The profound respect entertained for the Union by the entire community of this once famous commonwealth is so conspicuously displayed as to entitle them to general commendation and praise. Of course the "Radicals" of the North, under the lead of such blood-thirsty extremists as Greeley, Beecher, Sumner, Wade, Wilson, and others of that ilk, will never be satisfied, but I am confidently assured by the most respectable citizens that the "conservative masses will not allow the rights of the South to be trampled upon," and the utterance of the loyal *News* with the patriotic *Herald* are freely quoted to sustain this belief.

There is a popular delusion that newspapers are published at the South—more especially in South Carolina, and as such institutions are supposed to be the medium of communicating events of local importance, I have endured a patient reading of several papers with the view of gleaning some items as to the true condition of affairs throughout the State, and more particularly in the rural districts.

I defy the most scrutinizing itemizer of the *Tribune* office to detect, by a careful reading of South Carolina journals, the faintest indication of any thing but the most peaceful condition of society here, unless, perhaps, he may find occasional accounts of "outrages" perpetrated by the "degraded and lazy negroes." Yet, as I shall show you, by facts gleaned from the records of the military authorities, the most horrible outrages are daily perpetrated upon the helpless blacks, together with occasional murders of United States soldiers, and these by "loyal" citizens of South Carolina, who have yet to learn the South is *not* victorious.

I can give but few of the instances first referred to, with the assurance that these cases are a matter of record, taken only from a very small portion of the State, and where it is claimed a latent Union sentiment prevailed. An authenticated list of similar outrages for the entire of this State would fill a page of the *Tribune.*

CASES REPORTED AND EXAMINED BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AT COLUMBIA FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER:

Dr. L. O. Hobbs, citizen, of Newberry District, now being tried by Military Commission for the murder of Melvin, freedman. The defence admit that he shot the man, but claim, as eight days elapsed between the assault and the death of the victim, therefore Dr. Hobbs is not guilty of murder.

Dr. Wm. Thorn, citizen, of Fairfield District, is held on an assault with intent to kill a freedman, Stephen, formerly his slave. This man is maimed for life.

Joseph O'Neil, citizen, Laurens District, is held for the murder of Wesley Coleman, freedman.

W. W. Levister, citizen, of Newberry District, has been tried and sentenced to two years, imprisonment at hard labor for assault, with intent to kill, one Sam, freedman.

—— Black, citizen, of Fairfield District, for doing his best to kill a freedman, was tried, convicted and sentenced to 18 months, imprisonment at Castle Pinckney. Major-Gen. Ames "approved" the judgment of the Commission, but Gen. Devens has commuted the sentence to 30 days' imprisonment.

The parties last-named are the only two so far convicted. Gen. Devens thinks that thirty days, imprisonment is a full equivalent for an attempt to kill a freedman, and yet he has approved the judgment and sentence for eighteen months of one of the "poor white trash" who stole a cow to keep life in his wife and children, now literally starving to death. Wm. Jeffcoat and Daniel Jeffcoat, citizens of Lexington District, are held for the murder of a man unknown. The dead body was black and clothed with the United States uniform.

Three dead men were found the other day within a short distance of Columbia, side by side, clothed with the United States uniform. They were black, and that is all the authorities know of them or of the cause of their murder.

On the night of Sunday, Oct. 8, Corporal William C. Corbett and privates Emerr Smith and Mason Brown, of Company A, 1st Battalion Maine Volunteers, Lieut.-Col. Brown commanding, while protecting and guarding some Government property at Brown's Ferry, Anderson District, were brutally murdered, and their bodies—frightfully mutilated—thrown into the river. Not less than a dozen of the citizens of that District were engaged in this murder, but as yet only four of the parties suspected, viz: J. C. Keys, Robert Keys, F. G. Stowers and Elisha Byron have been apprehended and held in custody. Other persons known to be implicated are secreted in the District, but no favorably-disposed persons, white or black, dare give the military authorities such information as will lead to their arrest. The Sheriff and others in civil authority absolutely refuse to render the slightest assistance. Two or three parties are held as witnesses, and from them alone we gather the partial and timid relation of facts in regard to this fearful murder; and even they dare not tell the truth, admitting, as they do, that their lives would not be safe were they to do so. Numerous anonymous letters have been sent to them for the purpose of intimidation, and no one conversant with the facts doubts but that these threats will accomplish their purpose.

"Don't kill me," exclaimed Corbett, after his comrades had been murdered and he overpowered, "I am only obeying orders."

"You God damned Yankee sons of bitches, we have come to kill you all, and mean to do it; we are going to throw you into the river," yelled his fiendish assassins, as they took his life and fully carried out the threats.

Anonymous letters are being received by the military authorities to the effect that if the parties held are not released, the troops will not be permitted to remain in the State, and the whole community sustains this view of the case.

When these murdered soldiers were taken to their graves at Anderson Court-House, it was with the utmost difficulty that a clergyman could be found who was willing to officiate. Only Col. Orr (Governor elect) and his lady, of all the "loyal citizens" at that place, were present at the grave.

The parties engaged in this brutal murder are to be sent to Charleston, in irons, and stand their trial before a military commission.

Only a few days before the terrible occurrence I have just related, a dead black man was found upon the public square at this same Anderson Court-House, in the early morning, with a placard upon his breast conveying the suggestive notice—"This is a warning to all damn niggahs in this vicinity." The "notice" also gave the names of two other freedmen who were to be similarly treated.

A few days previous to this last episode of Southern civilization, a dead black boy was found upon the streets. He had been whipped to death.

Gov. Orr is my authority for stating that notwithstanding his earnest efforts to detect the murderers, not the slightest clue has been discovered which could lead to their identification.

The record for Anderson is not yet complete.

Less than two months have passed since a United States officer, with the rank of Captain, whose name I cannot just now ascertain, had been called out at night to repress an incipient riot among some "loyal" whiskey-loving citizens. Having accomplished his mission by restoring peace, he started to return to his quarters. The next morning his dead body was found upon the streets. No clue has ever been found to the perpetrators of this murder—and none ever will be so long as an entire community can rejoice at the death of a "Yankee." The horrible deeds which are enacted in this State are almost enough to make one question the wisdom of Providence in terminating the war until their own boastful threat of extermination had been fully realized.

In Union District, the military authorities sought to arrest certain white citizens for committing depredations upon private property, and received information of their places of concealment from one or more negroes. Upon last Saturday, a freedman came to Col. Houghton, 25th Ohio, commandant at Chester, himself nearly dead from the effects of a terrific whipping—his entire back being one mass of raw flesh, the most horrible sight the eye ever witnessed. His shirt had to be soaked before it could be removed from his body. Listen to his tale: "They took me to the woods and said that I knew who had informed on them to the Yankees. I said, 'No, sir, massa;' but they whipped me until I was almost dead. They shot Bill through the head, and cut Jack's throat from ear to ear, because they had been in the army, and must have told on them." The names of the alleged murderers are in the possession of the military authorities at Chester, but their apprehension is more than doubtful.

GREENVILLE DISTRICT.

This district is the home of Gov. Perry, U. S. Senator elect.

I make the following extract from the letter of a prominent citizen of that District—only suppressing the name for prudential reasons:

GREENVILLE C. H., Oct. 26, 1865.

* * * * "I write to inform you somewhat of the state of affairs in this district. * * * * There is a band of men organized in the lower part of the District whose purpose seems to be to take the law in their own hands with regard to freedmen. One of them, a desperado, formerly in the Confederate service, openly boasts that he has killed 38 negroes recently.

"On Monday night last a negro was killed eight miles below this place, and it seems impossible—through the civil authorities—even to obtain a 'jury of inquest.'"

The gentleman writing the above letter assured me personally that nothing but the presence of United States soldiers prevented an almost indiscriminate slaughter of the freedmen. The moment they left the State such work would begin.

I give entire, simply omitting the name of the author—a Brigadier-General in service—of a letter referring to *additional atrocities*, those not included in the above enumeration:

* * * * *

——, S. C., Nov. 9, 1865.

In regard to murders and outrages committed on freedmen, I have to state the following as having been reported to me, and of the truth of which ample evidence is presented.

In the vicinity of Columbia there have been three cases of murder reported since Nov. 1, and numerous outrages have been perpetrated by whipping and tying up by the thumbs.

In the upper districts, particularly in Greenville and Union, trustworthy reports in regard to murders committed have come to my knowledge. There have been at least three cases of murder of freedmen within the last month within 12 or 15 miles of Greenville. In one case the man was found hanging by the neck, and had probably been hanging there two weeks, the buzzards having eaten him partly up. A brother of this freedman was found dead by the side of the road. There is one case reported of fifteen hundred lashes having been given a freedman.

In Union district there are regularly organized bands who go about the country committing outrages upon poor whites and freedmen.

Several other cases have been reported in Newberry and Edgefield districts. There have been innumerable instances of whipping and tying up by the thumbs practiced upon the freedmen.

It has not been deemed advisable to give names and define localities, as in several cases the outrages are undergoing investigation, and the ends of justice might thereby be delayed or hindred.

Very truly yours,

* * * * Brig-Gen., etc.

Such is the concurrent testimony on every side. I have seen men and *women*, black to be sure, almost dead from the effects of inhuman treatment at the hands of these friends—their former owners. The club, whip, bar iron and thumb-screw are more freely applied to-day than in the worst days of slavery. They hate the black man because he *was* true to the Union.

THE OTHER SIDE.

You may ask: Is there no punishment for any crime, and are there no provocations which might possibly modify the enormity of this record of horrors?

Listen! A regiment of United States colored troops having been ordered to Charleston for mustering out, passed through Newberry District on their way home. One of the men spied a watermelon patch upon a plantation, and courteously asked the owner to sell him one or more. Not satisfied with giving a decided refusal, the "loyal citizen" coupled the refusal with most indignant and degrading epithets. This provoked a quarrel, and the unarmed soldier was shot—the ball barely escaping a vital part.

A few hours only passed before the houses of this "citizen" were consigned to the flames, and he tried, sentenced, and executed, in accordance with the judgment of a drum-head court-martial.

Lieut.-Col. Trowbridge, in command of this regiment, is now under arrest, and will be tried upon the charge of murder, it being alleged that he sanctioned these summary proceedings.

I will answer for it that every Copperhead journal of the North, as does every rebel—reconstructed or otherwise—of South Carolina, finds in this case new reason to deplore the Radicalism which placed a musket in the hands of the black man, and which even now intends to reward his loyalty and protect his manhood. Every Southern journal, every loyal and "reconstructed" South Carolinian, gives the greatest publicity to this affair, but has no word for the scores of murdered freedmen and Union soldiers whose cowardly assassination calls for retribution.

CHURCHES.

Two weeks since I attended the Episcopal Church at Chesterville, Chester District. During the "reading" I observed an almost unanimous movement among the congregation, which seemed to be well understood by the Minister, and while the prayer for those in authority, the President of the United States, etc., was being hastily read, only three persons in the entire church remained in an attitude of devotion—the three exceptions being Northern men. I afterward learned that a large portion of this congregation refuse to attend church because this particular prayer is read at all.

Chester was always claimed as being nominally "Union," and is the home of ex-Senator McIlhaley, the only member of the Legislature of 1861 who voted against the Secession movement.

Can any good thing come out of Nazareth!

THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

This body is now in session at Columbia. The Speaker of their House of Representatives, the Hon. A. P. Aldrich, was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and voted *against* the ordinance repealing the Act of Secession, also *against* the amendment to the State Constitution abolishing Slavery. When about casting his vote on both occasions, he delivered a most outspoken secession speech, which was heartily applauded by the members of the Convention and a large audience of spectators. Although his views were not seconded by his associates on those occasions, a unanimous election as Speaker tells its own story of their sympathies. There are not ten members of both branches of the Legislature who are not, to-day, thoroughly disloyal—as much so as when the Rebel flag waved over their State House. Do you doubt it? Come and see.

WHO SHALL VOTE.

No freedman will ever cast a vote in this State through any act of the "loyal" white citizens thereof. During the sitting of the Constitutional Convention, a proposition was made by Mr. Thompson, of St. Helena District, that "no white citizen should be permitted to vote who was unable to read the Constitution of the United States and that of the State of South Carolina." This proposition was decided negatively by an almost unanimous vote. One of the most earnest opponents of this motion, Mr. Moses (now Senator and President of the Senate), asserted that it would disqualify a very large proportion of the voters of this State; that he had known juries to be composed entirely of men who could neither read nor write; that in one instance (which he cited), the foreman of a Grand Jury was unable to sign his name to the presentation. That the Convention entertained a high appreciation of *white* ignorance was fully evinced by the emphatic vote which followed.

THE NATIONAL AND REBEL DEBTS.

Save for the interposition of the military authorities in very many districts of this State, "greenbacks" would be utterly refused as a circulating medium. Leading men seek to encourage the belief that they are "worthless trash," and will never be redeemed, thus fostering the natural hatred and prejudices of the least intelligent (and they are many) of the masses.

The State debt incurred during the war was not repudiated by the Convention, and will be paid, sooner or later, by action of the Legislature, and of this fact there is not the slightest doubt. The most credulous upon this point may become fully satisfied by consulting with the leading men of the State now congregated here.

These "gentlemen" (my application of this term is purely local) have no idea of assisting to pay the national debt, and still nurse the pleasant delusion that they are yet to receive compensation for their emancipated slaves. I can give the names of individuals who are now engaged in purchasing bills of sale of negroes under this belief. The idea is strongly prevalent among the masses that such compensation is certain to be made "when we (the South) get our rights again."

Four years of war with its bitter experience and untold suffering, have taught these people but little. Humbled, poverty-stricken and prostrate as they are, the memory of past triumphs in political conventions and Congressional debates encourages the belief that these good old times are not far off with the promised sympathy of the "conservative masses" of the North.

We cannot trust these people. *Facta, non verba probant*—"Deeds *not* words prove." Commit to their keeping the destinies of these States, intrust them with the control of these black, but Union-loving Unionists, who saved the Nation in its hour of darkest peril, and these years of bloodshed are to be fought over again before another generation have gone to their graves. The streets of their cities and villages; the roads and by-paths of these districts; the swamps and woods of the plantation are strewn with dead bodies of black men who have worn the blue uniform of the Union or have assisted by word or act its noble defenders. When the last United States soldier shall have passed the border of this State, a wail of agony and despair will ascend to high Heaven from the poor freedmen. Starved, beaten, homeless, murdered, the "Black Code" of South Carolina (a copy of which as reported to the Legislature I inclose) will be their only protection. Heaven save the mark! The heart weeps for these poor, persecuted, *man*-forsaken creatures, and the sufferings they must endure, lest rebel "rights" shall be transgressed and rebel "Constitutional privileges" invaded. The President or Congress which consigns these millions of loyal, faithful blacks to the cruel mercies of their late Rebel masters, and without the ballot to defend their integrity and rights will have perpetrated the darkest and most inhuman act known to Christian civilization. God grant that wisdom may be vouchsafed to our rulers, and that justice and humanity may prevail in all their counsels.

LEO.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

CONGRESS.

IT is probably fortunate that the meeting of Congress did not occur in the Spring. Had Senate and House come together in April, they would have had to deal with the same questions on which the President during the last eight months has tried his prentice hand. They would almost certainly have failed, as he has failed. It is altogether unlikely they would have built their system on the basis of negro suffrage; if they had, all the South and a large party in the North would have attributed to that element in the plan any disturbances that might have obstructed its success.

Now, we have had six months of white reconstruction. The experiment of conciliating the rebel States back into the Union has been thoroughly tried. The easy terms and boundless generosity of the President have been met by the rebel States with contemptuous neglect, with insolent defiance, with ingratitude, and outrage. By the admission of everybody but Mr. Seward, the President's plan is a failure. The meeting of Congress is at hand, and not one State has complied with the demands of the Executive.

It is, therefore, at an auspicious moment that the representatives of the people assemble in Washington to enter on the business which the President has proved incompetent to handle. They have had time to survey the field. The atmosphere of their homes has been far healthier than that of Washington could have been. Instructed by events, elevated by discussion, encouraged, if you please, by partial successes, they approach the most solemn and momentous duties that ever rested on a legislative body. They are to build up a permanent Union, or once more plant the seeds of a compromise as fatal as those of 1787 which bore the fruit of 1861. They are to save the country or destroy it. They are to do justice or injustice to the negro, and as they do justice or injustice to him will they save or destroy the country. Events have been so ordered that with the question of our own prosperity the question of justice to him is indissolubly bound up.

In these circumstances, we hold it to be the first duty of Congress to ignore the President's scheme of reconstruction; to remember the past six months only as a lesson and a warning—as an example to reject them wholly; to resume the authority which in this long interval the President has wrested out of its paralyzed hands. Congress is to undertake for itself the reconstruction of this Union. It is to go back to that 9th of April when Lee laid down his arms, and take that as a point of departure. It is to remember, however, that it cannot carry the South back to that point. Instead of having to deal now with a people convinced of the folly of further resistance and ready to accept any terms from its Congress—as Pryor says the South was two months after Lee's surrender—it has to confront a new rebellion organized to get possession of the Government by political methods—military having failed for the time being. And it is therefore to start with the idea—for want of which the policy of Andrew Johnson went early to wreck—that the North is victor in the field and entitled to dictate the terms of peace. On any other theory, the superiority we have asserted at such fearful cost will prove delusive; and the South instead of the North will prove victorious, by engrafting on the Government its ideas and its policy.

In coming then to questions of reconstruction, Congress will do well to dismiss wholly from its mind the idea that the insurgent States have any claim to take part, at present, in its councils. It is the loyal States only that are to decide upon the conditions on which the rebellious States shall be permitted to resume their relations to the Federal Government. Until those conditions are determined, the admission of Southern representatives is not even to be considered. There are no representatives which can be admitted without admitting the validity of the President's reconstruction policy; and even if it be conceded that his conventions and legislatures have a legal right to exist, they are as far as ever from being entitled to representatives in Congress, because they have refused compliance with the conditions which the President exacted as indispensable to their return. On the President's theory, or on ours, the men who will present themselves to Congress, claiming seats from the South, are impostors. The House or the Senate degrades itself if it discusses their pretensions. The police court is the proper tribunal to attend to them. There can be no representatives from the rebel States till Congress has settled the terms of readmission, till those terms have been complied with, and till, in pursuance of Congressional enactments, new conventions, new legislatures, and new elections have been held.

Methods and terms of reconstruction are for future consideration; but there is one condition which underlies every possible scheme—the Ballot must be in every Negro's hands. To us, the paramount consideration is Justice to the Negro, and we will never abate the least from that demand. But if to the people and their representatives in Congress policy be a higher thing than principle, the argument from policy is just as conclusive. The Safety of the Nation requires Negro Suffrage. If the events of the last eight months have not demonstrated that, it is useless ever to appeal to the instructions of experience. The South—meaning the white men of the South—stands and will continue to stand angry, sullen, defiant. Those whom the President calls the wards of the nation it oppresses; the President himself it despises and insults; its conventions refuse to sit under the Stars and Stripes; its militia refuses to be marshalled under any flag but the flag of the State. Not a convention has dared submit its work to the people, knowing well the people would reject with contempt even the small concessions its leaders have made to the demands of the President. The leaders could probably have carried the people if they had wished; but they did not wish, and never will. Much less will the whites ever ratify in good faith such fundamental changes in the organic law of the States as Congress must demand. The loyal negro vote must counterbalance the disloyal white vote, or we shall look in vain for years to come to see a safe and permanent reconstruction. The terms of Congress must be ratified by a majority of all the people—white and black—of every State, or they will never be ratified at all.

Now, as we said lately, the President is intent on bringing back the States without negro suffrage, and has shaped his policy to that end. But Congress represents the people, not the President, and is bound to consult their welfare, not defer to his wish. His was a policy of haste; a policy of delay is wanted to succeed it. Until the States are ready to come back on such terms as are consistent with the safety of the nation, they can wait. Meantime, Congress and the country will get a clearer idea of what *is* consistent with, and essential to, the safety of the nation. They will have time to examine, for instance, the Slave Code of South Carolina, where a disloyal minority of whites is legislating under the President's authority to re-enslave a loyal majority of nominally emancipated blacks. Let that sort of work go on long enough, and the country will be driven to ask whether for such legislative nullification of the Constitution there is any practical remedy but suffrage to that loyal majority in peril of enslavement; and will be driven, however reluctantly, to answer there is none. It will have to ask what sure pledge the South can give to repudiate beyond all possibility of re-assumption its Rebel State Debts, and it will have to answer—Only the black vote can ensure us that. It will have to ask how the South is to be kept from sending representatives to Congress who, backed by Democratic allies at the North, will demand the recognition of the Confederate Debt as the price of not repudiating the debt of the Union; and again it will have to answer that to prevent it the suffrage of the blacks must enter into every Southern congressional election. Time proves all things. If we cannot have the ballot for the negro at once, we can have it if we wait. Give us only delay, and the South, whose blind madness has so often saved us when on the brink of conceding all, will save us again. She will prove to the dullest that there can be no safe Reconstruction except on a loyal basis, that the only loyalty we can wholly trust is the negro's, and that the ballot in his hand must rebuild the fabric of the Union.

THE REBELS EMIGRATING.—"Many of the late rebel leaders," says the Philadelphia *Press*, "finding that their experiment of resuming political control, by a new violation of their obligations to the conquering power of the National Government, and especially by attempting to restore the institution of human slavery in other forms, is destined to a humiliating defeat, have resolved to emigrate to other countries. Some have quartered themselves upon Maximilian, and are now holding positions under that temporary representative of Louis Napoleon, taking good care, however, only to fill such posts as will secure to them sufficient compensation with little labor. Among these may be enumerated well-known members of the first families of the South, like John B. Magruder, of Virginia; William Preston, of Kentucky; M. F. Maury, of the District of Columbia, and the conceited ex-Governor Allen, of Louisiana."

In some States, Union citizens, both white and colored, are also leaving; but only where the rebellion rules and drives them out. But we never hear that rebels are driven out. They go only when they choose.

NEW ORLEANS.—Almost every negro that is arrested and taken before the City Recorder, is found to be possessed of some unlawful weapon, unlawful only to the blacks. An agent of commercial houses in France has arrived. He announces to the planters of Louisiana that he is authorized to contract for the immigration of laborers from India and China. And the planters appear to be fully authorized to expel or kill their former laborers to whom they owe all the wealth they claim, and employ Coolies and Chinamen instead, the law against such importation going for nothing, as do all the laws of Congress that conflict with the Southern demand. The South Victorious is surely reasonable prophecy if it be not actual History.

THANKSGIVING FOR THE FREEDMEN.—The American Freedmen's Aid Commission have issued an urgent appeal to pastors of churches and others who have not yet provided an object for their contributions on the day of Thanksgiving, to devote them to the objects of the Commission. They represent that, without immediate and efficient aid, seventy thousand freedmen are likely to perish this winter in Georgia and Alabama alone. It is directed that subscriptions be sent to George C. Ward, Treasurer, 56 Wall street, New York; or to either of the local Treasurers as follows: William Endicott, Jr., 33 Summer street, Boston; Joseph B. Collins, 40 Wall street, New York; E. W. Clark, 35 South Third street, Philadelphia; Jesse Tyson, Baltimore; C. G. Hussey *(President)*, 37 Fifth street, Pittsburg; John M. Walden *(Secretary)*, 25 Lombard Block, Chicago.

A WISE CAUTION.—The New York *Herald*, commenting on the various modes of furnishing aid to the South, says: "There is one kind of charity that these societies must avoid—a charity that is a positive injury to those who receive it, as well as to the whole South. They must not give money to persons, whether white or black, who are able to labor. We hear through practical men from South Carolina that the Southern Aid Societies have already done harm in that State in this way. Many of the poor whites, as well as many of the lately freed slaves, will not labor if they can live without it; and we find that, to add to the trouble, they are in some cases enabled to live without labor through the money collected from charitable persons here."

The whites in multitudes have lived in this way ever since the surrender of the South, and do still. But generally not so the blacks. There is probably no better political economy in this regard than that of the apostle: "If any man (or woman, we add) will not work, neither should he eat." And so at last says the *Herald.*

WE gather from sundry newspapers that negro suffrage was put in practice at New Orleans on election day, polls being opened for negro votes in the parishes of Orleans and Algiers, under the auspices of an association having in view the election of a delegate to Congress. No notice beyond the briefest mention is taken of it by the New Orleans papers, but the correspondent of the Mobile *Register* estimates that ten thousand votes were cast, and that the voters contributed on the spot from fifty cents to two dollars apiece in furtherance of the object.

Of the legality and effect of this effort, Congress will be called upon to judge. Were its validity to depend on loyalty, there could be no question of the result.

MAJ.-GEN. TERRY, acting under instructions from Washington, has curtailed the jurisdiction of the Freedmen's Court at Richmond, which is now prohibited from taking cognizance of criminal cases, and ordered to confine its operations exclusively to civil proceedings.

In other words, the negro is handed over to the State laws for protection, and to State Courts which don't admit negro testimony, but which do admit white rebels to sit in judgment on black loyalists. Such are some of the advantages of Reconstruction according to Andrew Johnson.

Gov. (so-called) WELLS, of Louisiana, has organized four cavalry regiments for service against the negroes of Northern Louisiana, who are said to have manifested an insubordinate disposition. Wells' troops are put under the command of Col. Scott and Col. Grayson, both of them Rebel officers. As they have to do Rebel work, why should they not be rebels?

WHITE LABORERS FOR THE SOUTH.—We have before called attention to attempts in the South to supplant the former laborers there by white emigration, or with Coolies and Chinamen. This week it seems that the Freedmen's Bureau has information that a collection of persons in Mobile is trying to underbid negro labor by agreeing to furnish German emigrants just off the ship at wages lower than a negro could subsist upon. The company propose to hire out male laborers at fifty dollars per year, females at one hundred dollars, and children at fifty dollars. The scheme, of course, meets the approbation of large planters, since it enables them to inflict a crushing blow upon their former chattels, for whom they cherish no particular affection. Respectable white and colored laborers around Mobile protest against this and ask the Bureau to interfere.

RECONSTRUCTION.—The President and Secretary Seward seem to be fully awake to the speedy meeting of Congress. Dispatches are flying thick and fast to the rebel States, that they be ready to appear in wedding garments. Dr. Powell, State Agent of North Carolina, has just returned home bearing a letter from Mr. Seward to Gov. Holden, in which he says:

The President sincerely trusts that North Carolina will by her Legislature promptly accept the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. He relies upon you to exercise all your functions, as heretofore, with the same wisdom and the same spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Union that have marked your administration hitherto. The President desires you to feel entirely assured that your efforts to sustain the administration of the Government and give effect to its policy are fully appreciated, and that they will in no case be forgotten.

ALABAMA TAKING COMMON-SENSE GROUND.—The New York *Times* says: On Wednesday Gov. Parsons, of Alabama, delivered his message to the State Legislature. He urges the adoption of the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. He asks for the passage of laws for the protection of the freed negroes and their property, and he approves of the adoption of *vagrant laws*, to be applied to idlers of the black and white races alike. These are surely sensible suggestions and recommendations. Their adoption by the Alabama Legislature—as Gov. Parsons reasons—must greatly tend to facilitate the admission of the representatives of that State into Congress. It needs but that the States temporarily alienated show that they are acting in good faith, in accordance with the President's programme of reconstruction, to insure for them a cordial welcome to their old places in the national councils. Gov. Parsons appears to understand this fact sufficiently well to be able to give the State Legislature sound advice.

It cannot but be observed how delicately the whole question of colored suffrage is treated by most of the Republican journals in the country. The STANDARD has not ceased to warn the people from the day when President Johnson issued his first proclamation, of that danger. Of course the voice has not been heeded. We did not expect it would be. In an article headed the "Newspaper Press," on the 17th of June, it was shown exactly how such a decline and fall is generally achieved. At that time the press of the North and the pulpit also were clamorous for negro suffrage as a condition of reconstruction. But how are they to-day?

THE SOUTH CLOAKED BY CONNECTICUT.—The *Tribune* has the following:

"The Charleston *News*, commenting on the Black Code reported to the Legislature of that State by Gen. Burt and Judge Wardlaw, says its provisions are "*compatible* with the freedom of the negro as recognized by *our State Constitution.*" It further remarks that

"There may be some outsiders whose notions of fraternity and equality may be somewhat disturbed thereby, but they must remember that the antiquated, abstract theories of Thomas Jefferson, in that regard, have been practically repudiated by such honest, hearty assertions of the dignity of race, as was lately manifested by the people of Connecticut."

Emerson has forcibly observed—

"Nor knowest thou what argument
Thy life to thy neighbor's creed hath lent."

So the skulkers and shufflers who allowed Connecticut to record herself as denying the right of suffrage to those who had fought and bled for the country under her flag must have a keener sense of their own baseness when they find it triumphantly quoted to sustain even more glaring and flagrant injustice in the South."

Asking pardon of the *Tribune*, for daring to differ with it, we venture to say that the action of the South under the circumstances is not *more* "glaring and flagrant injustice."

MORE DISASTERS.—A collision occurred on Friday night between the steamers Niagara and Post Boy, on the Mississippi river, seven miles above Helena, Arkansas. The Niagara sunk in twenty feet of water. One hundred deck passengers, mostly discharged colored soldiers, were drowned. The cabin passengers and crew were all saved.

"Discharged colored soldiers" are still "deck passengers." The cabin passengers were able to be got from their comfortable quarters in time to be saved. The crew, too, "were all saved." That there would be an investigation of this most remarkable occurrence, would not be doubtful, only that the drowned were all colored soldiers, and so of no more account than the victims butchered and burned at Fort Pillow and who are still unredressed.

A DISPATCH says:

"Before the adjournment of the Georgia Convention, a telegram was laid before it from President Johnson to the Provisional Governor, expressing his cordial approbation of an ordinance for raising in that State militia companies for the preservation of order and the prevention of crime. The military of the entire South is being reorganized."

And the military of

PERSONAL.

Hon. Lot M. Morrill, U. S. Senator from Maine, in a recent speech at Bangor, declared that he was for putting the ballot into the hands of the negro for his own protection and as a right. We hope to hear him say the same thing in the Senate chamber at Washington.

Capt. Judkins, the veteran commander of the Cunard steamers, is about to retire from the service. He has crossed the Atlantic nearly five hundred times, and no vessel under his command has ever met with any serious mishap.

The names of James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge were added to the list of traitors deserving death, appended to the resolution introduced into the Tennessee Legislature remonstrating against the pardon of Jefferson Davis and others, and it was then passed by a vote of 15 to 3.

Gen. Robert E. Lee recently applied to the War Department for permission to keep a few pieces of artillery now at Lexington, Va., and belonging to the United States, for the purpose of instructing the young men at the military school in artillery practice. An officer was at once sent to remove the guns to Richmond.

Ex-Gov. Magrath of South Carolina, from his place of confinement in Fort Pulaski, has issued an urgent appeal for release. Mr. Magrath was Judge of a United States Court when the rebellion broke out, and resigned at that time. He is willing to give the best security for future loyalty and "to aid in carrying out the policy of the Government." But the President seems to think he can do without Mr. Magrath's help, for the present.

A New Orleans paper says: "Mrs. W. B. Mumford and her three orphan children arrived in New Orleans yesterday. This announcement, we know, will call forth the same noble sympathy which sprung to meet the relict of the man whose name must ever be remembered in Lousiana, in every Southern city, in every Southern State. Whatever may be the opinion of the right or wrong of what made her destitute, there can be no opinion but one as to her and her children. It is the duty of those who took the same part with the protector she lost to see that she and hers shall not be neglected."

Mrs. W. B. Mumford is the widow of the insolent traitor whom Gen. Butler hanged for hauling down the American Flag after New Orleans had surrendered to the Union forces. He was the first Rebel hanged. Of course, he is a martyr in Southern eyes, and his widow becomes a heroine. Do we not know that Louisiana has been reconstructed—after the Banks pattern? Why should she not indulge her sympathies?

Two candidates, says the *Spectator*, have been proposed for the Lord Rectorship of Edinburgh, Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Disraeli, and the friends of each are actively denouncing his opponent. The chief charge against Mr. Disraeli beyond his political character appears to be that he has written novels, while Mr. Carlyle is tainted as a theist. The first charge cannot be denied, but the second can, and accordingly some warm supporters of Mr. Carlyle are trying hard to prove that their hero is a Christian, and that his philosophy has much of Christianity in it, an argument for which the stern Scotchman, who believes in what he calls the "veracities," *i. e.*, the forces of nature, and very little else, will scarcely thank them. There is nothing gained by shrinking from facts, and the true ground to assume is that the Lord Rectorship is not an ecclesiastical appointment, and Mr. Carlyle's creed has no more to do with his qualifications than if he were a blacksmith.

Mr. Stearns may be interested in seeing how his talk with President Johnson strikes a liberal mind in England. The last *Spectator* says:

"The gist of Mr. Johnson's argument is that he is not opposed to negro suffrage, but will do nothing to secure it. It would be an interference with State rights. He is, moreover, of opinion that the suffrage should not in any case be universal, lest the hatred between the mean white and the negro should end in a war of races. The slave would vote with the planter, and the mean white, who hates the planter, would vent his hatred on the negro. In other words, the President holds that the negro with representatives in the Legislature will be *more* defenceless than the negro without them. Consequently, representation is an injury, and nobody ought to be represented—a delightful termination to a Republican argument. It is nearly certain that the negro is abandoned—indeed Kentucky is trying to enslave him again—and quite certain in that case that the struggle between the two sections of the Union must, sooner or later, recommence. Mr. Johnson says if the South go too far he has the army; but how if the South elects the next President?"

At the public reception given to a colored Pennsylvania regiment in Harrisburg, Pa., recently, tributes to the gallantry of negro troops were received from Gens. Meade and Butler. Gen. Meade wrote:

Gentlemen of the Committee: I regret exceedingly that my duties and engagements will not permit of my being present at Harrisburg on the 14th inst., at the reception which you propose to give to the returned colored soldiers. The reception meets my cordial approval, and I am glad that the colored soldiers are to be thus welcomed. I trust you will be enabled to give them a reception worthy of their services, of the cause which they have been upholding, and of the State whose honor they have been maintaining.

Respectfully yours, GEORGE G. MEADE,
Maj.-Gen. U. S. A.

Gen. Butler with far nobler frankness and gratitude writes thus:

LOWELL, MASS., Nov. 3d.

Gentlemen of the Committee: If my engagements will possibly permit, I will be present to meet my colored fellow-soldiers on their return from the service of their country. I have witnessed their patience and discipline in the camp, and their bravery and good conduct on the battle-field, and, above all, their devotion and unswerving loyalty to the flag and the Government, and I deeply feel that they are entitled to the gratitude, bounty, and unfaltering justice of their fellow-countrymen. As the possibility of my being with you on this occasion is so doubtful, I beg that you will not publicly announce that I will be present. Very respectfully,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

The *Saturday Review*, beyond comparison the ablest of the London weeklies, devoted to conservative politics, and rarely just to an opponent, has the grace to say of John Bright—"If ability and eloquence were the only qualifications for power, the question would be, not whether Mr. Bright should be a Secretary of State, but how it was possible that a cabinet could be formed without his co-operation. It would indeed be a triumph to reduce into the condition of a docile colleague so formidable an auxiliary or opponent."

We take it for granted Mr. Bright has no thought of entering a cabinet of which Earl Russell is Premier; but the fact that he is talked of as Minister shows the advance in English politics toward something like a genuine liberalism.

The *Spectator* devotes a long article to Mr. Bright and the Cabinet, closing as follows:

"In a word, Mr. Bright has devoted many great gifts and many noble qualities of mind to the task of denouncing the ruling classes in the name of the ruled classes, and he must, we suppose, take the consequences of having done so, and give place to men who have advocated similar measures in a different spirit. It may be said that the Reformers of 1830 did the same. But besides the fact that they were at least much *more* in the right in denouncing the ruling classes than Mr. Bright has been of late years,—there is this vast difference between the situations, that *then* the country was bent upon something very like a revolution, and now it is bent upon having nothing at all like a revolution, but only a quiet improvement. Mr. Bright has been a genius of tempest, a kind of political stormy petrel, in an age of tranquillity, and we must therefore lose the help of his genius and eloquence in the effort to bring about a quiet change without tempest. If Englishmen saw his spirit on the waves, instead of setting to work to caulk the ship and mend the sails, they would be for reefing topsails and making everything snug for a storm."

PRECEDENTS FROM THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION.—Among other curious documents brought to light by the legal gentlemen engaged in examining the question of trials for treason, are the instructions sent by President Washington to Gov. Lee of Virginia, father of Mr. Robert E. Lee, who was in command of the militia sent against the whiskey insurgents in Pennsylvania. The instructions were drawn up by Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, and were approved by Edmund Randolph. They set forth that the object of the military proceedings are two-fold—to overcome any armed opposition which may exist, and to support the civil officers. They say: "Of these persons in arms, if any, whom you may make prisoners, leaders, including all persons in arms, are to be delivered to the civil magistrate—the rest to be admonished and sent home, except such as may have been particularly violent." Governor Lee was also directed "to inculcate, and cause to be observed, this principle, that the duties of the army are confined to the attacking and subduing of armed opponents to the laws, and to the supporting and aiding of the civil officers in the execution of their functions."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 27, 1865.

LORD PALMERSTON and Tom Sayers are dead. Two famous Englishmen, and representatives of two noteworthy English classes. They are connected in the following anecdote, which passes current in the papers, and is, besides, inherently probable.

Lord Palmerston, being an Englishman, of course thought it no harm to uphold the "P. R." It is related that soon after the prize fight between Heenan and Sayers, he was standing in one of the corridors in the House of Commons, when a gentleman came along with a hat in his hand, soliciting money to be added to the subscription for Tom's benefit. After taking several sovereigns from passing members, the gentleman approached the "jaunty Premier. Holding out the hat he said, "A sovereign if you please, for Tom Sayers." "By all means. The brave fellow. Let me make it five." And Lord Palmerston dropped his subscription into the hat.

These two men, differing greatly in rank, in social standing, in education, and in many other respects, seem to have had one characteristic in common, an absolute indifference to (or rather ignoring of) *moral* considerations. They seemed not merely to disregard and undervalue these, but not to recognize their existence, and not to understand why other people laid stress upon them. The plebeian probably had not the least idea that the life he led was any other than a creditable and worthy one. Probably he never once suspected that to spend his whole life in searching for other big blackguards who thought themselves equal to him in strength and skill, and pummelling them till they acknowledged inferiority, and getting other people to take an interest in the question of which would beat, and to stake their money upon it, was any other than a right and wise employment of life. And probably the patrician never once suspected that *his* chief occupations and objects in this world—the exaltation of his class above all other English classes, and of his nation above all other nations, with an utter diregard of right and justice in both cases—was any other than a right and wise employment of life. They are gone; but they have left plenty of the same sort behind them.

An article in the November number of Blackwood's *Magazine* represents that Lord Palmerston was extremely desirous of using the pretext afforded by the "Trent affair" for making a declaration of war against the United States; an act which, the writer in question regretfully says, would have secured the independence of the Southern States, and given England a better customer than she now has in this country. Fortunately for both nations, Lord Palmerston's colleagues in the Cabinet took a different view, either of the rights or probabilities of the situation, and we have been spared, thus far, the enormous suffering and the no less enormous depravation, on both sides, which a war with England would involve. But, judging from the tone and temper of large classes on each side the water, the nations called civilized and Christian have not yet begun to realize either the folly or the wickedness of war.

The love of fair play, and the practice of it, are boldly arrogated by Englishmen of the two classes above alluded to as their special and manifest characteristics. But if these are shown by each, to a certain extent, in its home dealings, they are shamefully violated when a foreign interest, national or individual, comes in question. When Sayers was beaten by a bigger blackguard from America, he and his friends would not acknowledge the defeat. When circumstances had placed the United States in a critical and dangerous position, Lord Palmerston seizes the opportunity to turn against her. That this danger finds her in the *right* position and her antagonist in the wrong one, is a consideration to which he is utterly indifferent. Fair play is ignored where the success of a *foreign* rival is in question.

For the amount of credit still allowed to the brutal sports of the "prize ring" and the race-course, the British nobility and gentry are very largely responsible. While these are patronized by royalty, rank, and fashion, not only will the cruelties and vices naturally belonging to them remain unchecked, but the similar cruelties and vices of the classes called vulgar will hold their own, in defiance of laws as well as morals. While my Lord and my Lady continue to rush to the Derby and the Epsom races, not only will Tom, Dick, and Harry have their dog-fights, their cock-fights, their badger-baitings and their rat-killings, but the control of law over depravities of this sort is paralyzed and well-nigh nullified. In England, as here, public opinion is stronger than law; but the existence of a titled aristocracy there forms one strong motive in addition to those which exist among us for a thoughtless, servile imitation, by the majority, of the manners and customs of the higher classes. So strongly has the custom of a long series of generations acted upon the British people, that they really honor and value the Lords temporal and Lords spiritual who are tyrannizing over them in Church and State. But while these aristocratic classes remain in vogue, reform of every sort must continue to be limited and retarded.

What shall be said of the enormous increase of crimes of violence among us? Highway robbery, often accomplished by the frightful expedient of "garroting," has become a not uncommon event in and around Boston. This morning's papers record three new cases perpetrated in our own streets, and three in neighboring towns. The streets of Boston were formerly considered secure, alike for men and women, both by day and night, except for those who went voluntarily into the rumseller's net. Now, violence assails both sexes, alike by day and night. Can nothing be done except to increase the number and vigilance of the police? It is said that, in reply to a gentleman's question how he should prevent or foil the attack of garroters, a Judge of our city replied—"Carry a revolver, and fire *accurately*." But apart from the absurdity of expecting help from this particular weapon after a man has been seized from behind and held in such a manner as to stop his breath, and while accomplices of the assailant are helping him on each side—the remedy is worse than the disease. Are we all, women as well as men, to adopt that detestable Southern fashion of carrying arms whenever we go into the streets? A pistol in the pocket is no defence against the garroter. Are we to hold it cocked, all ready for use, wherever we go? Are we to "fire accurately" at one whom we suppose to be *intending* to attack us? Are we to take the risk of those accidents which happened so frequently in the army from the careless handling of weapons? Is the quarrelling propensity to be aggravated and intensified by the consciousness of each party that he can instantly kill his opponent? Clearly *this* remedy would be worse than the disease. But some remedy is urgently needed. Let the wise devise it for us.

To touch, before closing, upon threatened depredations of another sort—last week's warm weather brought upon us, in full force, the progenitors of next year's canker-worms. They have come a fortnight earlier than last year, following the earlier progress of the seasons. My first sight of them was on the 16th of this month. I judge therefore that preventive operations should be completed some time before the middle of November. When you see a small brownish moth or miller (the male) fluttering about the trunks of the apple and elm trees at this season—after the occurrence of weather cold enough presumably to have destroyed that race—you will find, on examination, ash-colored, wingless grubs crawling up those trees in expectation of their husbands. A week or so after their appearance, these grubs are laying eggs, from which the destructive canker-worm is to come forth next spring. In the city many of these eggs are deposited upon fences and walls, and may easily be found by one who searches at the right time. The batch of eggs will average perhaps a hundred, and this number, laid in contact with each other on a flat surface, will cover a circle of half-an-inch, or less, in diameter. The shape of these eggs is peculiar. Looked at with a microscope or a strong magnifying-glass, they are seen to be little cylinders, standing on one end, and closed at the top by an accurately fitting cover, not unlike a can of preserved fruit.

Judging from the number of these insects that I see caught upon the tarred covering of those trees which were protected in season—and from the vast number of the eggs which I find even in places so unpromising as fences and walls—it is to be feared that the ravages of the canker-worm will be as great next spring as last spring.

NORTH.

HOW OUR ARMY WAS CONSTITUTED.—During the years 1863 and 1864 there were over 40,000 commissioned officers in our armies, an average of one officer to every 25 men on the rolls.

LETTER FROM AN OFFICER OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—I wish every friend of the freedmen could make a trip to the South to bear witness to their labors and sufferings.

After the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation, I thought the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD would soon have fulfilled its mission, but recent observations at the South have changed my opinion. It will be well for the friends of the colored race to understand, first as well as last, that slavery is not dead yet, and that the hatred and injustice of the late slaveholder are not abated in the least; that he is waiting his opportunity to re-enslave the blacks, or to devise some means by which his plantation shall be worked by them for nothing.

Having been connected with the Freedmen's Bureau, I deem it but just to the freedmen to say, that it does not afford them that protection which the North has been led to suppose.

The management and solution of so vast a problem require statesmanship, besides Christian philanthropy and soldierly reputation. The presentation of a few facts will substantiate this assertion. The orders so far issued are nothing but glittering generalities; and I trust that the friends of the freedmen will aid the bureau with their counsels.

The freedmen, as a general thing, are willing to work. They are ready to make contracts at $10 a month, but they want something more reliable than the empty promises of the planter to pay.

Like Falstaff's sailor, "they don't like the security." They experience now the folly of depending upon the promises of the chivalry. At the approach of Sherman's army many of these traitors fled, justly afraid of their lives, while the loyal negroes remained on the plantations, and in the sweat of their brows toiled to secure the crops.

The high-sounding promises of the North reached their distant cabins, and they fondly hoped that loyalty would be rewarded and treason as surely punished. These poor people had to experience the bitter truth of Mr. Johnson's speech, "that liberty to them meant nothing but liberty to work," for about harvest time the pardoned rebels returned to take possession of their lands and crops, in many cases chasing the freedmen away from the plantations without any remuneration whatever. One case occurred in my district where an ex-Senator of the rebel Congress returned with a pardon in his pocket to take possession of his land. More than fifteen hundred acres of land had been cultivated by the freedmen during his absence, and true to his chivalric instincts he ordered them away, threatening to shoot any that remained.

The terrified people with their families took refuge in the woods, when after some weeks the affair came to my knowledge under the following circumstances:

It appeared that a boy, whose mother was too sick to move, ventured back to the plantation in the night to carry to her some food. He was caught, and the next morning his former owner had him handcuffed, with his arms behind his back, put him in his buggy and drove him in this condition ten miles. I ordered his arrest, but he could not be found. The freedmen I sent back to the plantation, giving them two-thirds of the crop, while I ordered one-third to be turned over to the family of the owner. Whether, when an appeal is made to Washington, this decision will be approved is doubtful.

Strict justice would have given the entire proceeds of the land to the men who worked it.

The destitution among all classes is truly frightful; and the lesson that "cleanliness is the beginning of godliness," has been very little studied in these regions. There is also a great field open yet for the establishment of schools. The Society of Friends, with a generosity and self-denial which characterizes all its actions, is doing a good and noble work among the freedmen. While they are striving to advance the interest of education, their devoted teachers receive also sufficient support to encourage them in their labors.

It is greatly to be regretted that other Northern societies should have thought it necessary to reduce the pay of those heroines who have left comfortable homes to devote their energies to the advancement of education among the freedmen. These girls receive now thirty dollars per month, while the plainest board can only be obtained at from eight to ten dollars per week.

At the time of their being sent out they were promised a salary of twenty dollars per month and their board. Instead of their board, the generous societies allow them "*ten dollars*" additional salary. I have yet to learn of any more shameful proceeding committed by benevolent societies.

There is great need of contributions of clothing and other substantial aid from the people of the North, and anything sent to this office will be applied most judiciously. I have found in and around a prominent city which boasts of a mayor, and which is intersected by four leading railroads, the most squalid and appalling poverty, even to starvation. The rural districts are, if possible, worse off yet. One afternoon a freedman came to my office clamoring for rations for three starving women, stating that five of the same family had died during the week of starvation.

Believing this case to be an exaggerated one, I determined to examine into it myself. Towards evening I rode to the three miles distant shanty. Not a pane of glass was in the windows; no chair, nor table, nor fire. One woman was cowering in a corner, wailing and moaning, while another was kneeling at the side of a dying sister—she herself not being able to speak, so emaciated and starved was she. By extra exertion I managed to save two; the third died two nights after. An officer who rode out with me to see this case thought it was a hopeless task to assist them as they and many like them would have to die anyhow during the winter.

Cases like this are not rare, but too sickening for detail; and from this people who had never a chance to call anything their own, the Government proposes, at the suggestion of rebels, to withdraw rations entirely, so that the men may be compelled to work for nothing but their food, and helpless women and children die off as soon as possible.

There should be an orphan asylum for colored children in every State, for there are hundreds of these little ones who know neither father nor mother, and without an asylum to receive them they will have either to starve or fall into the hands of fiends in human form.

But space admonishes me to draw to a close. I will finish this letter with a description of a freedmen's hospital as I saw it. Of course they are not all like this, and there are but few in existence. But it is disgraceful enough that even one such should be found. A shanty seventy by thirty-six feet, with about eighteen patients, men, women, and children, promiscuously huddled together, and afflicted with various diseases. An intelligent freedman acted as nurse, steward, and doctor, with a grave-digger as his assistant. Both had been promised a salary, but although the grave-digger had buried over ninety persons, and made the coffins himself, begging the boards for them, neither he nor his companion—who evinced a deep love for the cause of these poor sufferers, and who had been employed at that place ever since April—had so far received any compensation.

Bunks upon which the patients were lying were destitute of even mattrasses or straw, although some of the sick were raging with the delirium of typhoid fever. Some charitable army surgeon had left with the doctor a few standard medicines, which were carefully stowed away in an old cracker-box; and as diet for the patients a generous Government magnanimously distributed its rations of rotten pork and spoiled biscuits. The room was warmed by a fire kindled in the middle of the room on a sand heap, while the smoke was left to escape as well as it could. Reader, the hospital looks better now, but it is not yet what it should be. I reserve what I have to say in regard to the jail, and other things that came under my eye for another letter. O.

NATIONAL CREDIT.—A Prussian gentleman who was travelling in Egypt not long since got out of money, and offered some coupons of our five-twenty loan, which were promptly cashed by an American gentleman—a citizen of Boston—who remitted them here, where they arrived a day or two since. This is a small matter perhaps, but is certainly significant as to the reliance placed upon our national credit when our coupons are circulating in the land of the pyramids.

A POET in the Nebraska City *News* concludes a long poem with the following lines. They contain more truth than poetry:

Well, such is life! Whom the Gods love
Die young. Whom they hate, live and prosper,
And are selected Delegates in Congress
From the several Territories.

THE AMENDMENT.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th Mo. 27, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—Fully concurring with the editorial of last week "What Should Be Done," allow me to suggest the propriety of altering somewhat the proposed Amendment of the U. S. Constitution which stands, and has for months stood, at the head of the column—viz.: "No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States, residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color or descent."

I refer to the words: "of parents permanently resident there." It is not clear, nor is it generally understood, that this permanent residence of parents is intended to refer *only* to the permanent residence of the parents *at the time of the birth* of such child whose citizenship we are considering. But even then, it is quite questionable whether the citizenship of a child should be impaired by the *temporary* residence of parents at such time; for the child might, under many circumstances, remain upon the soil.

As it reads now, we make the citizenship of a person dependent upon the permanent residence of parents, which is not pure Democracy. It partakes of hereditary rights, and is clearly not in keeping with anti-slavery teachings.

Let us strike out the words "of parents permanently resident there;" for the naturalization laws are competent to settle any vexed questions of the kind inferred. Our aim is embraced in the other part of the proposed Amendment, and it should go before Congress at the earliest moment, backed with the strongest influence and cooperation.

I rejoice at the word spoken for *Woman*, and, as feeling prompts, would further propose in behalf of the immortal declaration: "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty"—that we insert the word *sex*, and have the Amendment read:—"No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States, residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil, on account of race, color, sex, or descent."

Let us oppose any course that seems like sowing seeds for another rebellion, and determine to *regenerate* rather than merely "reconstruct."

Thine for improving the best and accomplishing the most, ALFRED H. LOVE.

A COLORED DELEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—Efforts are on foot to have a colored delegation at Washington during the Session of Congress, with a view of inducing its members, in their legislation, to have respect to the rights of all men without regard to color. This subject will excite, if not settled, as much agitation as the Anti-Slavery controversy; and it must be settled. All the interests of the country are affected by it; material prosperity will be hindered measurably every day that it remains in controversy; and, therefore, all enterprise is interested and should support such an agency, which is likely to have weight. A convention of the colored people of New England and their friends is to assemble in Boston on Friday, the 1st Dec., to favor the movement. We hope that it may be a success, and that all will aid the effort. D.

CLEMENCY AND COMMON SENSE.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

THE following is the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's article in the December *Atlantic*, "A Curiosity of Literature," the former part of which gives a most scholarly and complete account of the history of two well-known Latin verses. *Instabile est regnum quod non clementia firmat: Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.* He deduces the following

MORAL.

At the conclusion of a fable there is a moral, or, as it is sometimes called, the application. There is also a moral now, or, if you please, the application. And, believe me, in these serious days, I should have little heart for any literary diversion, if I did not hope to make it contribute to those just principles which are essential to the well-being, if not the safety of the Republic. To this end I have now written. This article is only a long whip with a snapper to it.

Two verses saved from the wreck of a once popular poem have become proverbs, and one of these is very famous. They inculcate clemency, and that common sense which is found in not running into one danger to avoid another. Never was their lesson more needed than now, when, in the name of clemency to belligerent traitors, the National Government is preparing to abandon the freedmen, to whom it is bound by the most sacred ties; is preparing to abandon the national creditor also, with whose security the national welfare is indissolubly associated; and is even preparing, without any probation or trial, to invest belligerent traitors, who for four bloody years have murdered our fellow-citizens, with those Equal Rights in the Republic which are denied to friends and allies, so that the former shall rule over the latter. Verily, here is a case for common sense.

The lesson of clemency is of perpetuaul obligation. Thanks to the mediæval poet for teaching it. Harshness is bad. Cruelty is detestable. Even justice may relent at the prompting of mercy. Do not fail, then, to cultivate the grace of clemency. Perhaps no scene in history is more charming than that of Cæsar, who, after vows against an enemy, listened calmly to the appeal for pardon, and, as he listened, let the guilty papers fall from his hand. Early in life he had pleaded in the Senate for the lives of conspirators; and afterwards, when supreme ruler of the Roman world, he practised the clemency he had once defended, unless where enemies were incorrigible, and then he knew how to be stern and positive. It is by example that we are instructed; and we may well learn from the great master of clemency that the general welfare must not be sacrificed to this indulgence. And we may learn also from the Divine Teacher, that, even while forgiving enemies, there are Scribes and Pharisees who must be exposed, and money-changers who must be scourged from the Temple. But with us there are Scribes and Pharisees, and there are also criminals, worse than any money-changers, who are now trying to establish themselves in the very temple of our government.

Cultivate clemency. But consider well what is embraced in this charity. It is not required that you should surrender the Republic into the hands of pardoned criminals. It is not required that you should surrender friends and allies to the tender mercies of these same pardoned criminals. Clearly not. Clemency has its limitations; and when it transcends these, it ceases to be a virtue, and is only a mischievous indulgence. Of course, one of these limitations, never to be disregarded, is the *general security*, which is the first duty of government. No pardon can be allowed to imperil the nation; nor can any pardon be allowed to imperil those who have a right to look to us for protection. There must be no vengeance upon enemies; but there must be no sacrifice of friends. And here is the distinction which cannot be forgotten. *Nothing for vengeance; everything for justice.* Follow this rule, and the Republic will be safe and glorious. Thus wrote Marcus Aurelius to his colleague and successor in empire, Lucius Verus. These words are worthy to be repeated now by the chief of the Republic:

"Ever since the Fates
Placed me upon the throne, two aims have I
Kept fixed before my eyes; and they are these,—
Not to revenge me on my enemies,
And not to be ungrateful to my friends."

It is easy for the individual to forgive. It is easy also for the Republic to be generous. But forgiveness of offences must not be a letter of license to crime; it must not be a recognition of an ancient tyranny, and it must not be a stupendous ingratitude. There is a familiar saying, with the salt of ages, which is addressed to us now: "Be just before you are generous." Be just to all before you are generous to the few. Be just to the millions *only half rescued* from oppression, before you are generous to their cruel taskmasters. Do not imitate that precious character in the gallery of old Tallemant de Réaux, of whom it was said, that he built churches without paying his debts.* Our foremost duties are now to pay our debts, and these are twofold: first, to the national freedman; and, secondly, to the national creditor.

Apply these obvious principles practically. A child can do it. No duty of clemency can justify injustice. Therefore, in exercising the beautiful power of pardon at this moment in our country, several conditions must be observed.

(1.) As a general rule, belligerent traitors, who have battled against the country, must not be permitted *at once*, without probation or trial, to resume their old places of trust and power. Such a concession would be clearly against every suggestion of common sense, and President Johnson clearly saw it so, when, addressing his fellow citizens of Tennessee, 10th June, 1864, he said—"I say that traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand men in Tennessee, loyal to the Constitution, loyal to freedom, loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorganization and reformation absolutely."

(2.) Especially are we bound, by every obligation of justice and by every sentiment of honor, to see to it that belligerent traitors, who have battled against their country, are not allowed to rule the constant loyalists, whether white or black, embracing the recent freedmen, who have been our friends and allies.

(3.) Let belligerent traitors be received slowly and cautiously back into the sovereignty of citizenship. It is better that they should wait than that the national security be imperilled, or our solemn obligations, whether to the national freedman or the national creditor, be impaired.

(4.) Let pardons issue only on satisfactory assurance that the applicant, who has been engaged for four years in murdering our fellow-citizens, should sustain the Equal Rights, civil and political, of all men, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence; that he shall pledge himself to the support of the national debt; and, if he be among the large holders of land, that he shall set apart homesteads for all his freedmen.

Following these simple rules, clemency will be a Christian virtue, and not a perilous folly.

The other proverb has its voice also, saying plainly, Follow common sense, and do not while escaping one danger, rush upon another. You are now escaping from the whirlpool of war, which has threatened to absorb and ingulf the Republic. Do not rush upon the opposite terror, where another shipwreck of a different kind awaits you, while Sirens tempt with their "song of death." Take warning: *Seeking to escape from Charybdis, do not rush upon Scylla.*

Alas! the Scylla on which our Republic is now driving is that old rock of *concession and compromise* which from the beginning of our history has been a constant peril. It appeared in the convention which framed the National Constitution, and ever afterwards, from year to year, showed itself in Congress, until at last the Oligarchy, nursed by our indulgence, rebelled. And now that the war is over, it is proposed to invest this same Rebel Oligarchy with a new lease of immense power, involving the control over loyal citizens, whose fidelity to the Republic has been beyond question. Here, too, are Sirens, in the shape of belligerent traitors, suing softly that the Republic may be lured to the old concession and compromise. *Alas! that, escaping from Charybdis, we should rush upon Scylla!*

The old Oligarchy conducted all its operations in the name of State Rights, and in this name it rebelled. And when the Republic sought to suppress the Rebellion, it was replied, that a State could not be coerced. Now that the Rebellion is overthrown, and a just effort is made to obtain that "security for the future" without which the war will have been in vain, the same cry of State Rights is raised, and we are told again that a State cannot be coerced—as if the same mighty power which directed armies upon the Rebellion could be impotent to exact all needful safeguards. It was to overcome these pretensions, and stamp *E Pluribus Unum* upon the Republic, that we battled in war; and now we surrender to these tyrannical pretensions again. Escaping from war, we rush upon the opposite peril—*as from Charybdis to Scylla.*

Again, we are told gravely, that the national power which decreed emancipation cannot maintain it by assuring universal enfranchisement, because an imperial government must be discountenanced—as if the whole suggestion of "imperialism" or "centralism" were not out of place, until the national security is established, and our debts, whether to the national freedman or the national creditor, are placed where they cannot be repudiated. A phantom is created, and, to avoid this phantom, we rush towards concession and compromise—*as from Charybdis to Scylla.*

Again, we are reminded that military power must yield to the civil power and to the rights of self-government. Therefore the rebel States must be left to themselves, each with full control over all, whether white or black, within its borders, and empowered to keep alive a Black Code abhorrent to civilization and dangerous to liberty. Here, again, we rush from one peril upon another. Every exercise of military power is to be regretted, and yet there are occasions when it cannot be avoided. War itself is the transcendent example of this power. But the transition from war to peace must be assured by all possible safeguards. Civil power and self-government cannot be conceded to belligerent enemies until after the establishment of "security for the future." Such security is an indispensable safeguard, without which there will be new disaster to the country. Therefore, in escaping from military power, care must be taken that we do not run upon the opposite danger,—*as from Charybdis to Scylla.*

Again, it is said solemnly, that "we must trust each other;" which, being interpreted, means that the Republic must proceed at once to trust the belligerent enemies who have for four years murdered our fellow-citizens. Of course, this is only another form of concession. In trusting them we give them political power, including the license to oppress loyal persons, whether white or black, and especially the freedmen. For four years we have met them in battle; and now we rush to trust them, and to commit into their keeping the happiness and well-being of others. There is peril in trusting such an enemy, more even than in meeting him on the field. God forbid that we rush now upon this peril—*as from Charybdis to Scylla.*

The true way is easy. Follow common sense. Seeking to avoid one peril, do not rush upon another. Consider how everything of worth or honor is bound up with the national security and the national faith; and that until these are fixed beyond change, agriculture, commerce, and industry of all kinds must suffer. Capital cannot stay where justice is denied. Emigration must avoid a land blasted by the spirit of caste. Cotton itself will refuse to grow until labor is assured its just reward. By natural consequence, that same Barbarism which has drenched the land in blood will continue to prevail, with wrong, outrage, and the insurrections of an oppressed race; the national name will be dishonored, and the national power will be weakened. But the way is plain to avoid these calamities. *Follow common sense; and obtain guarantees commensurate with the danger.* Do this without delay, so that security and reconciliation may not be postponed. Every day's delay is a loss to the national wealth and an injury to the national treasury. But if adequate guarantees cannot be obtained at once, then at least *postpone all present surrender to the Oligarchy*, trusting meanwhile to Providence for protection, and to time for that awakened sense of justice and humanity which must in the end prevail. And finally, *take care not to rush from Charybdis to Scylla.*

* "C'etat un homme qui battait des eglises sans payer ses dettes."

MISSISSIPPI.

OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF INSTRUCTION TO GOV. HUM. HREYS.

From the Washington Republican.

OWING to the meagreness of the statement in the dispatch from Mississippi, published yesterday, purporting to give the substance of President Johnson's instructions to Gov. Humphreys, we give, by authority, a full copy of the dispatch, which is as follows:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17, 1865.

B. G. HUMPHREYS, *Governor elect, Jackson, Miss.:*

The troops will be withdrawn from Mississippi when, in the opinion of the Government, peace and order and the civil authority have been restored and can be maintained without them. Every step will be taken while they are there to enforce strict discipline and subordination to the civil authority.

There can be no other or greater assurance given than has heretofore been on the part of the President or Government. There is no concession required on the part of the people of Mississippi or the Legislature, other than a loyal compliance with the laws and Constitution of the United States, and the adoption of such measures giving protection to all freedmen or freemen, in person and property, without regard to color, as will entitle them to resume all their Constitutional relations in the Federal Union.

The people of Mississippi may feel well assured that there is no disposition arbitrarily on the part of the Government to dictate what action should be had; but, on the contrary, to simply and kindly advise a policy that is believed will result in restoring all the relations which should exist between the States composing the Federal Union.

It is hoped that they will feel and appreciate the suggestions herein made—for they are offered in that spirit which should pervade the bosom of all those who desire peace and harmony and a thorough restoration of the Union.

There must be confidence between the Government and the States; while the Government confides in the people, the people must have faith in the Government. This must be mutual and reciprocal, or all that has been done will be thrown away. ANDREW JOHNSON,
President United States.

Could the Delphic Oracle be more uncertain than that? What are the "Constitutional relations" of the colored population of Mississippi? What they have been we know.

COLD BLOODED ASSASSINATION.—The shooting of Maj. Dixon at Alexandria, Va., by Dr. Maddox, a rebel surgeon, has already been noticed. Maj. Dixon was the only person in Fairfax county who voted for Mr. Lincoln in 1860, and from that day it is said he has been a marked man. On the breaking out of the war he was made a paymaster in the army. Before dying he made a statement under oath, which shows the act of Dr. Maddox to have been most cowardly and cold blooded. We quote:

"At the time I was shot I was walking along Royal street, in this city. Dr. Maddox saw me as I walked along Royal street and shot me before I drew my pistol. I was passing away from him at the time. I shot at him after he shot me. I was in this city because I had business at the War Department, and was temporarily stopping here. Dr. Maddox fired at me twice. I had not started to draw my pistol before he shot me. He had fired once before I started to draw my pistol. I carried my pistol on my left side in my holster. He sought me once before in the Mansion House and spit in my face while I was sitting in a chair, without my knowing that he was present. I had not seen him prior since 1857. This was about ten days or two weeks ago. Not a word was said before he shot me."

Dr. Maddox went before the civil magistrate and went through the farce of giving himself up. The magistrate released him on five thousand dollars bail, although he knew Dixon was mortally wounded. Dixon leaves a wife and eight children.

SPANISH ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—The important order recently issued by the Government of Spain, prohibiting the African slave trade with its West Indian colonies, is probably due in great part to the influence of events in this country. The order declares that the extinction of the slave trade in the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico is the most imperative of the duties of the government in the administration of those provinces, and it adds:

"Unless the importation of slaves from Africa be given up in all parts, it will be fruitless to seek any kind of conservative or pacific solution to the difficult problem of slavery; as, sooner or later, those provinces would be subjected to a ruinous solution, which would sweep away and destroy forever the moral and national interest of our race in the Antilles."

"This," says an English paper, "is a pretty explicit acknowledgment of the utter inability of Spain to retain slavery in her colonies when the abomination has been swept away in all the surrounding countries."

WISCONSIN official returns from all counties but Pepin give Fairchild 9,502 majority, and against Negro Suffrage 7,514. Pepin will be about 300 Republican.

THE majority of the House Committee of the Tennessee Legislature have reported against the Negro Testimony bill. They assign two reasons: 1. The majority of the people are opposed to it. 2. Legislation in favor of negro testimony at this time is premature.

ECONOMY OF A COLORED REGIMENT.—The 107th Kentucky Colored Regiment, now guarding the fortifications about Washington, were paid off last week. Up to this date $6,000 have been deposited in the National Freedmen's Savings Bank, by the men of seven companies.

WASHINGTON'S WILL.—The original will of George Washington has been once more placed in the archives of the State of Virginia, after escaping the vicissitudes of the last four years. It is in Washington's clear and distinct handwriting, and the signature is attached to every page.

HOW THE REVENUE COMES IN.—Commissioner Rollins has decided that the deed on trust or mortgage of the Great Western Railway Company to John R. Penn, trustee, for three millions of dollars, must have stamps affixed to the amount of *thirty thousand dollars*. It is proposed to issue sixty thousand bonds under this mortgage, of five hundred dollars each, and they will be invalid unless the revenue stamps are affixed.

OBITUARY.

CAPT. H. FORD DOUGLASS.

DIED, at his residence in Leavenworth, KANSAS, on the 11th of November, Capt. H FORD DOUGLASS, aged 35 years. The following is extracted from a notice of his death in the Philadelphia *Christian Recorder*.

MR. EDITOR,—Our community was thrown into a sudden state of excitement

Miscellaneous Department.

THE PARTING OF HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE.

FROM THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

So spake the matron. Hector left in haste
The mansion, and retraced his way between
The rows of stately dwellings, traversing
The mighty city. When, at length, he reached
The Scean gates, that issue on the field,
His spouse, the nobly dowered Andromache,
Came forth to meet him, daughter of the Prince
Eetion, who among the woody slopes
Of Placos, in the Hypoplacian town
Of Thebé, ruled Cilicia's sons, and gave
His child to Hector of the beamy helm.
She came, attended by a maid who bore
A tender child, a babe too young to speak,
Beautiful as a star, whom Hector called
Scamandrius,—but all else Astyanax,
The City's Lord, since Hector stood the sole
Defence of Troy. The father on his child
Looked with a silent smile. Andromache
Pressed to his side, meanwhile, and all in tears
Clung to his hand, and, thus beginning, said:—
"Too brave! thy valor yet will cause thy death.
Thou hast no pity on thy tender child,
Nor me, unhappy one, who soon must be
Thy widow: all the Greeks will rush on thee,
To take thy life. A happier lot were mine,
If I must lose thee, to go down to earth;
For I shall have no hope, when thou art gone—
Nothing but sorrow. Father have I none,
And no dear mother. Great Achilles slew
My father, when he sacked the populous town
Of the Cilicians, Thebé with high gates.
'Twas there he smote Eetion, yet forbore
To make his arms a spoil: he dared not that,
But burned the dead with his bright armor on,
And raised a mound above him. Mountain nymphs,
Daughters of ægis-bearing Jupiter,
Came to the spot and planted it with elms.
Seven brothers had I in my father's house,
And all went down to Hades in one day:
Achilles the swift-footed slew them all,
Among their slow-paced beeves and snow-white flocks.
My mother, princess on the woody slopes
Of Placos, with his spoils he bore away,
And only for large ransom gave her back.
But her Diana, archer-queen, struck down
Within her father's palace. Hector, thou
Art father and dear mother now to me,
And brother, and my youthful spouse besides.
In pity keep within the fortress here,
Nor make thy child an orphan, nor thy wife
A widow. Post thine army near the place
Of the wild fig-tree, where the city-walls
Are low, and may be scaled. Thrice, in the war,
The boldest of the foe have tried the spot:
The brothers Ajax, famed Idomeneus,
The two chiefs born to Atreus, and the brave
Tydides: whether counselled to the attempt
By some wise seer, or prompted from within."
Then answered Hector, great in war: "All this,
Dear wife, I bear in mind; but I should stand
Ashamed before the men and long-robed dames
Of Troy, were I to keep aloof, and shun
The battle, coward-like. Not thus my heart
Prompts me; for greatly have I learned to dare
And strike among the foremost sons of Troy,
Upholding my great father's fame and mine.
But well in my undoubting mind I know
The day shall come in which our sacred Troy,
And Priam, and the people over whom
Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all.
But not the sorrows of the Trojan race,
Nor those of Hecuba herself, nor those
Of royal Priam, nor the woes that wait
My brothers many and brave, who yet, at last,
Slain by the leaguering foe, shall lie in dust,
Grieve me so much as thine, when some mailed Greek
Shall lead thee weeping hence, and take from thee
Thy day of freedom. Thou, in Argos, then,
Shalt, at another's bidding, ply the loom,
Or from the fountain of Messeis draw
Water, or from the Hyperesian spring,
Constrained, unwilling, by thy cruel lot.
And then shall some one say, who sees thee weep,
'This was the wife of Hector, most renowned
Of the horse-taming Trojans, when they fought
Around their city.' So shall some one say;
And thou shalt grieve the more, lamenting him
Who haply might have kept afar the day
Of thy captivity. Oh, let the earth
Be heaped above my head in death, before
I hear thy cries, as thou art borne away!"
So saying, mighty Hector stretched his arms
To take the boy. The boy shrank crying back
To his fair nurse's bosom, scared to see
His father helmeted in glittering brass,
And eyeing with affright the horse-hair plume
That grimly nodded from the crest on high.
The tender father and fond mother smiled;
And hastily the mighty Hector took
The helmet from his brow, and laid it down
Gleaming upon the ground, and, having kissed
His darling son, and tossed him up in play,
Prayed thus to Jove and all the gods of heaven:
"O Jupiter, and all ye deities!
Vouchsafe that this my son may yet become
Among the Trojans eminent like me,
And, with a might and courage like my own,
Rule nobly over Ilium. May they say,
'This man is greater than his father was,'
When they behold him from the battle-field
Bring back the bloody spoils of the slain foe,
That so his mother may be glad at heart."
So speaking, to the arms of his dear spouse
He gave the boy. She on her fragrant breast
Received him, weeping as she smiled. The chief
Beheld, and, moved with tender pity, smoothed
Her forehead gently with his hand, and said:
"Sorrow not thus, beloved one, for me.
No living man can send me to the shades
Before my time; no man of woman born,
Coward or brave, can shun his destiny.
But go thou home, and tend thy labors there,
The web, the distaff, and command thy maids
To speed the work; the cares of war pertain
To all men born in Troy, and most to me."
Thus spake the mighty Hector, and took up
His helmet shadowed with the horse-hair plume,
While homeward his beloved consort went,
Oft looking back and shedding many tears.
Soon was she in the spacious palace-halls
Of the man-queller Hector. There she found
A troop of damsels; with them all she shared
Her grief, and all in his own house bewailed
The living Hector, whom they thought no more
To see returning from the battle-field,
Escaped the rage and weapons of the Greeks.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
in the December Atlantic.

THE WHITE SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

THESE sad statements are made, through the London *Times*, by Dr. John Charles Hall, senior physician to the Sheffield Public Hospital:

"Suppose a maker of razors wishes to have a certain number of razor-blades ground, he sends them to a grinder. This man hires the room in which he grinds, and the power with which his stone is driven. He becomes the occupier of a portion of the room in which he grinds, and the trough in which he carries on his trade. He, too, often hires this room and this power at the cheapest possible rate, and with reckless indifference as to the number of dry grinders, who may be working in one low, dirty, badly-ventilated 'hull,' without the protection of the fan. The number of cubic feet of air requisite to maintain the body in a healthy condition never for a moment enters into his calculation. How should it? Many of these men began their trade at the age of ten—they are altogether uneducated and destitute of that intelligence which education can alone bestow; the evil has thus a natural tendency to perpetuate itself. It must do so—it will do so, until the children of our Sheffield grinders are sent into the school-room instead of the grinding-hull. I therefore, sir, am decidedly of opinion, after giving many years of careful and anxious attention to this question, that the first step for effecting an improvement in the religious, moral, and physical condition of these men will be for the legislature to prevent the employment of children in any grinding wheel, in any of the processes of grinding, glazing, polishing, wiping, etc.

"I have already shown that the early age at which children are but too often sent into the hulls of the grinding wheels prevents the possibility of anything deserving the name of general or religious knowledge being imparted. Consequently these boys grow up and remain in a state of ignorance—I might truly write, of barbarism—that, did they happen to possess black skins and to live a few thousand miles from our fatherland, would open a field for missionary labor the most wonderful, and in course of time would supply the May meetings with matter as interesting as exciting. Only fancy what delightful tracts, in the highest degree sensational, might be written, founded on the evidence just presented by the Children's Employment Commission. But the grinders live at home, and, therefore, disregarding the people who are always ready to do good by some 'magnificent impossibility,' I am contented still to pursue my labors, confident that in the end I shall not have appealed in vain to the common sense and philanthropy either of my fellow-townsmen or my fellow-countrymen.

"The physical as well as the religious and moral condition of the Sheffield grinders demands, therefore, that boys should no longer be sent into the hulls at an early age. Boys first are put to the task of glazing and polishing the different articles. I have seen boys under twelve years of age whose lungs were affected with the grinder's disease, and from this age to twenty it is not at all uncommon to see the existence of the disease. On remonstrating with many of the grinders for bringing their sons into the wheel at so early an age—and, bear in mind, the sons of grinders are the youngest boys to be found engaged in this trade—I have frequently been met by the reply, 'We cannot live without making use of them; there is so much underselling, and the prices are so low that we could not find power and tools and live, did we not bring our children to this work.' There is, no doubt, some truth in the above remark. The competition is unquestionably great, both for the home and foreign markets. This immense competition, which exists in many branches, the manufacture of articles to supply the 'Cheap Jacks,' and others who frequent our markets and fairs, of articles which are made to sell and not to use both at home and abroad, has doubtless caused many boys to be employed; the fathers remarking, with some degree of justice, 'that inferior goods are charged so low, they are obliged to make little boys work with them, or they could not get a living.'"

A LETTER FROM MOZART.

From the Athenæum.

IT has long been clear that Mozart's father was a man far superior in understanding and conduct to many of the grasping parents to whom wonderful children are born; and this in spite of the pressure of circumstances. Nothing, it is obvious, could be worse calculated to inspire probity and the cultivation of good morals than the average position of the German musician who had anything to do with German courts and nobles at the close of the eighteenth century. Advancement was only to be gained by ante-chamber work, solicitation and intrigue. The best places of trust and profit were mostly in the hands of foreigners. The amount of jealousy and complaint current could hardly be overstated. Manners and morals were alike gross. The slavery so much anathematized by sentimental persons, which the Mozarts had to endure as household musicians to the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, does not appear to have been so much the exception as the rule. Take a picture of manners showing how the art of music could be patronized by German persons professing liberality of taste and some distinction of position:

"Oct. 17, 1777.

"I will now (writes Mozart to his father) relate to you as briefly as possible the Augsburg history to which I have already alluded. Herr Von Fingerle, who sent his compliments to you, was also at Herr Graf's. The people were very civil, and discussed the concert I proposed to give, all saying, 'It will be one of the most brilliant concerts ever given in Augsburg. You have a great advantage in having made the acquaintance of our Stadtpfleger Langenmantl; besides, the name of Mozart has much influence here.' So we separated mutually pleased. I must now tell you that Herr von Langenmantl, junior, when at Herr Stein's, said that he would pledge himself to arrange a concert in the Stube (as something very select, and complimentary to me), for the nobility alone. You can't think with what zeal he spoke, and promised to undertake it. We agreed that I should call on him the next morning for the answer; accordingly I went; this was on the 13th. He was very polite, but said that as yet he could not say anything decided. I played there again for an hour, and he invited me next day, the 14th, to dinner. In the forenoon he sent to beg that I would come to him at eleven o'clock, and bring some pieces with me, as he had asked some of the professional musicians, and they intended to have some music. I immediately sent some music, and went myself at eleven, when, with many lame excuses, he coolly said, 'By-the-by, I could do nothing about the concert; oh, I was in such a rage yesterday on your account. The patrician members of the Casino said that their cashbox was at a very low ebb, and that you were not the kind of virtuoso who could expect a *souverain d'or*.' I merely smiled, and said, 'I quite agree with them.' N. B.—he is Intendant of Music in the Casino, and the old father a magistrate! but I cared very little about it. We sat down to dinner; the old gentleman also dined up stairs with us, and was very civil, but did not say a word about the concert. After dinner I played two concertos, something out of my head, and then a trio of Hafeneder's on the violin. I would gladly have played more, but I was so badly accompanied that it gave me the colic. He said to me, good-naturedly, 'Don't let us part company to-day; go to the play with us, and return here to supper.' We were all very merry. When we came back from the theatre, I played again until we went to supper. Young Langenmantl had already questioned me in the forenoon about my cross (Mozart, by his father's desire, wore the 'Order of the Golden Spur,' conferred on him by the Pope), and I told him exactly how I got it, and what it was. He and his brother-in-law said over and over again, 'Let us order a cross, too, that we may be on a par with Herr Mozart.' I took no notice of this. They also repeatedly said, 'Hallo! you sir! Knight of the Spur!' I said not a word; but during supper it became really too bad. 'What may it have cost? three ducats? Must you have permission to wear it? Do you pay extra for leave to do so? We really must get one just like it.' An officer there of the name of Bach, said, 'For shame! what would you do with the cross?' That young ass *Kurzen Mantl*, winked at him, but I saw him, and he knew that I did. A pause ensued, and then he offered me snuff, saying, 'There, show that you don't care a pinch of snuff for it.' I still said nothing. At length he began once more in a sneering tone: 'I may then send to you to-morrow, and you will be so good as to lend me the cross for a few minutes, and I will return it immediately after I have spoken to the goldsmith about it. I know that when I ask him its value (for he is a queer kind of a man) he will say a Bavarian *thaler*; it can't be worth more, for it is not gold, only copper, ha! ha!' I said, 'By no means—it is lead, ha! ha!' I was burning with anger and rage.—'I say,' rejoined he, 'I suppose I may, if need be, leave out the spur?'—'Oh, yes,' said I, 'for you have one already in your head; I, too, have one in mine, but of a very different kind, and I should be sorry to exchange mine for yours; so there, take a pinch of snuff on that!' and I offered him snuff. He became pale with rage, but began again: 'Just now that order looked so well on that grand waistcoat of yours.' I made no reply, so he called the servant and said, 'Hallo! you must have greater respect for my brother-in-law and myself when we wear the same cross as Herr Mozart; take a pinch of snuff on that!' I started up; all did the same, and showed great embarrassment. I took my hat and my sword, and said, 'I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow.'—'To-morrow I shall not be here.'—'Well, then, the next morning, when I shall still be here.'—'Ho, ho! you surely don't mean to——'—'I mean nothing; you are a set of boors, so good night,' and off I went. Next day I told the whole story to Herr Stein, Herr Geniaulx, and to Herr Director Graf—I don't mean about the cross, but how highly disgusted I was at their having bragged so much about a concert, and how it had come to nothing. 'I call this making a fool of a person and leaving him in the lurch. I am very sorry that I ever came here. I could not possibly have believed that in Augsburg, my papa's native town, such an insult could have been offered to his son.' You cannot imagine, dear papa, how angry and indignant these three gentlemen were, saying: 'Oh, you must positively give a concert here; we don't stand in need of the patricians.' I, however, adhered to my resolution and said, 'I am willing to give a small farewell concert at Herr Stein's for my few kind friends here who are *connoisseurs*.' The Director was quite distressed, and exclaimed: 'It is abominable—shameful; who could have believed such a thing of Langenmantl! *Par Dieu!* if he really wished it, no doubt it would have been carried through.' We then separated. The Director went down stairs with me in his dressing-gown as far as the door, and Herr Stein and Geniaulx walked home with me. They urged us to make up our mind to stay here for a time, but we remained firm. I must not forget to say that, when young Langenmantl visited out to me, in his usual cool, indifferent way, the pleasant news as to my concert, he added, that the Patricians invited me to their concert next Thursday. I said, 'I will come as one of the audience.'—'Oh, we hope you will give us the pleasure of hearing you play also.'—'Well, perhaps I may; why not?' But having received so grievous an insult the next evening, I resolved not to go near him again, to steer clear of the whole set of patricians, and to leave Augsburg. During dinner, on the 16th, I was called out by a servant-maid of Langenmantl's, who wished to know whether he might expect me to go with him to the concert? and he begged I would come to him immediately after dinner. I sent my compliments in return, that I had no intention of going to the concert; nor could I come to him, as I was already engaged (which was quite true); but that I would call next morning to take leave of him, as on Saturday next, at furthest, I was to leave Augsburg. In the meantime Herr Stein had been to see the other patricians of the Evangelical party, and spoke so strongly to them that these gentlemen were quite excited. 'What!' said they, 'shall we permit a man who does us so much honor to leave this without even hearing him? Herr Von Langenmantl, having already heard him, thinks that is enough. At last they became so excited that Herr *Kurzenmantl*, the excellent youth, was obliged to go to Herr Stein himself to entreat him, in the name of the patricians, to do all in his power to persuade me to attend the concert, but to say that I must not expect great things. At last I went with him, though with considerable reluctance. The principal gentlemen were very polite, particularly Baron Belling, who is a director or some such animal; he opened my music portfolio himself. I brought a symphony with me, which they played, and I took a violin part. The orchestra is enough to throw any one into fits. That young puppy Langenmantl was all courtesy, but his face looked as impertinent as ever; he said, 'I was rather afraid you might have escaped us, or been offended by our jokes the other evening.' 'By no means,' said I coolly; 'you are still very young; but I advise you to be more cautious in future, for I am not accustomed to such jokes. The subject on which you were so facetious did you no credit, nor did it answer your purpose, for you see I still wear the order; you had better have chosen some other topic for your wit.'—'I assure you,' said he, 'it was only my brother-in-law who——'—'Let us say no more about it,' said I. 'We had nearly been deprived of the pleasure of seeing you altogether,' he rejoined.—'Yes; had it not been for Herr Stein, I certainly should not have come; and, to tell you the truth, I am only here now to prevent you Augsburg gentlemen being the laughing-stock of other countries, which would have been the case if I had told them that I was eight days in the city where my father was born, without any one there taking the trouble to hear me!' I played a concerto, and all went off well, except the accompaniment; and as a finale I played a sonata. At the close, Baron Belling thanked me in the warmest manner in the name of all the company; and, begging me to consider only their good will, presented me with two ducats."

HOGARTH'S "MARRIAGE A LA MODE."

HOGARTH was essentially the painter of real life. He had little to do with the ideal. When he attempted "high art," he failed. Hogarth could paint a beautiful woman better than most of his rivals. But then, it was the beauty of actual life, not the ideal beauty of poetry. Hogarth was not a Raffaelle. He was a plain Englishman, portraying the social life of his countrymen in the middle of the eighteenth century. This is his great excellence. Beyond every other painter, he was the painter of the manners of his own time. Whilst his contemporaries were covering walls and ceilings with foolish allegories, in which the unheroic personages of the day were mixed up with heathen gods and goddesses, or attempting to convey, by conventional attitudes, costumes that belong to no age or country, and impossible copy-book expressions, the scenes of Scriptural, classical, or national history, Hogarth addressed himself to the task of depicting what he saw going on around him, and, by stripping off the conventional veil, showing how mean and despicable as well as hateful were the prevalent vices, and how contemptible and debasing the fashionable manners.

This was no light thing to do. The reign of the second George was a period of more open profligacy than any other, except that of the second Charles. The sovereign, dullard as he was, was as public in his immorality as his livelier predecessor. The courtiers, following his example, revelled in the lowest pleasures. Statesmen and senators were notoriously venal. Bishops and clergy were non-resident and non-religious. That there was little to choose between the higher and the lower classes, "A Midnight Conversation" and "Gin Lane" sufficiently attest. To paint the manners of such a time was a serious undertaking, and, mere humorist as he is sometimes supposed to be, Hogarth set about it in a serious spirit. A censor as unsparing, a satirist as bitter, as scathing, and as outspoken, as Juvenal, it is not to be denied that he was at times nearly as coarse. But his coarseness, much as in many cases it is to be regretted, is seldom without a purpose that accounts for, if it cannot justify it. He lived in a coarse as well as a corrupt age, and his pictures were addressed to those who lived and played a part in it. To reach them there must be the utmost plainness of utterance. He dealt with subjects that must be represented freely to be represented truly. We may wish that he had not chosen them, or that he had worked out his purpose with less offensive materials. But from his point of view that could not be. We must, therefore, accept his works as they are, though for family purposes we may be driven to employ a Bowdlerized edition.

"It hath been thought a vast commendation of a painter," continued Fielding, "to say his figures seem to *breathe;* but surely it is a much nobler and greater applause that they appear to *think*." If ever such praise was deserved by painter, it was by Hogarth. His faces are always full of thought and meaning; his figures always express their purpose. But the praise may well be carried further; for every part of his pictures teem with meaning, and either elucidate or deepen, simply and unobtrusively, the common sentiment.

The "Marriage à la Mode" is one of the saddest domestic tragedies ever told by pen or pencil; and it is one of the most powerfully developed both as to character and story. Every scene is closely connected, every incident has a distinct bearing on the denouement, every stroke tells. We have, however, but to consider one of the actors, not the entire tragedy. To appreciate properly the face of the Countess, to perceive its full meaning as an expression of character, it should be studied through the several scenes of the drama. In all she is beautiful, and even when erring, the painter has been able to preserve a measure of sympathy for her. But it is a manly, robust sympathy: Hogarth never becomes effeminate or lachrymose. He makes us see clearly that the Countess is a kindly, fond woman, imperfectly educated, of no great intellectual vigor, of no great strength of purpose. Entering a new world, without experience, and with few resources in herself, she needs, above all things, the friendly guidance of some one she can confide in and honor. Gentle and trustful, she yearns for affection and sympathy. Her fate is to meet with coldness and treachery.

In the very first scene, the "Signing of the Marriage Contract," Hogarth has with wonderful prescience given the key-note to her character, and indicated the nature of the catastrophe. Already she sits apart, wholly neglected by the selfish brute to whom she is being affianced, and who is too much occupied in admiring his worthless self to bestow, even at such a time, a word or look on the victim about to be sacrificed to his necessities and those of his family. Note well this portrait of her, next time you visit the gallery at South Kensington; an engraving gives but a feeble idea of it. She is very young; her features, simple and engaging, are of that kind of beauty which requires time and circumstance for the development of character. It is a countenance which may develop into beauty of the order that commands respect as well as admiration, or degenerate into the merely pretty and insignificant. But there is evident feebleness of resolve. She is playing already with her bridal ring, threading it on her handkerchief, in the vain endeavor to conceal the bitterness of the disappointment which is gnawing at her heart. Silvertongue observes her uneasiness and seizes the opportunity to pay her some trifling civilities; the expression which Hogarth has given to him will be better understood by-and-by.

When, in the second picture of the series, the Countess is again seen, she has been married long enough to have become accustomed to her husband's neglect, to know of his debauched habits, and to have fled to play as a solace. The semblance of affection or even respect is gone. They quarrel, and she does not hesitate to contradict, or even to express to his face the contempt in which she holds him.

The next picture in which the Countess appears, is that from which our illustration is taken. As a composition, "The Countess' Dressing Room" is the most perfect of the series. It combines, in an almost unequal degree, fulness of matter with economy of space. Not only every person but every detail is characteristic, and only essential details are admitted. The variety and force of expression are wonderful. There is abundant humor, but a subtle pathos visibly underlies and controls it. The face of the Countess—she has, we see by the coronet on her toilet-gear, succeeded to the title—betrays familiarity with the gay world. Oppressed with ennui, she yields a languid ear to the libertine beside her, as he illustrates with fluent wit the ories painted on the screen. She has not fallen, but she is on the brink. The child's coral hanging from the back of her chair tells that she is a mother. Is not the introduction of that little bauble a stroke of genius?

Looking round the room, we may easily doubt whether such an assemblage could have been present at the toilette of an English lady of rank little more than a century ago: the series was completed in 1745. But Hogarth was familiar with the habits of high life. His earliest practice as a painter in oil was in representing for the nobility the morning parties they held in their drawing-rooms—Conversation Pieces they were called; there was one of them in the International Exhibition of 1862. There is no appearance of exaggeration—beyond the usual painter's licence—in the Dressing Room scene; and in contemporary criticism it is not charged with being untrue to fact, or, as we should now regard it, an outrage on probability. We must, it is to be feared, receive it, therefore, as representing at least a possible scene; and be thankful it is no longer possible.

Following the unhappy woman another stage, we see her stricken with an agony of remorse; and in the next, in the last pallor of death. Terrible as both these scenes are, the Countess, is in each, the one being on whom the sympathy of the spectator rests. In the one you see how real and how deep is her contrition. In the other you cannot but feel, as the wretched child eagerly embraces her, that whatever were her faults, she must have kept fresh and ardent a mother's love and tenderness, when that deadly pallor and distorted countenance cannot deter her child from kissing the unconscious lips.

PHILOSOPHICAL PUZZLES.

From Chambers's Journal.

THERE is a science, or rather a family of sciences, which can boast a greater antiquity than almost any other. Its great age does not in the least entail decrepitude, for it, in fact, gives this ancient father of knowledge a patriarchal authority over all the younger sciences, without at all making him suffer any of those infirmities of age which his twenty-five centuries of life might be expected to confer. This ancient learning is called Logic, a name of great power, and, alas! often taken in vain. In fact, its fame is so extensive, that persons whose knowledge is limited to the name only, are constantly invoking it with an almost superstitious feeling. The blacksmith whose political convictions are strong (not to say wordy), when debating in the senate of a tap-room, uses the name of logic with much effect either for the conclusive settlement of the question in the manner he upholds, or to the destruction of the notions of his opponent. And many a parliamentary debater, or newspaper writer, calls aloud on the same name for a similar purpose, and it is indeed even just possible with the same simple veneration for what he knows not.

But, great as is the antiquity, and vast as are the dominions of this science, the general popular interest in, and recognition of, its principles are small; and this is the case because it has one great fault, which is sometimes the fault of age—it is not amusing. It is a very dignified science. Logic does not deal either in pleasing experiment or interesting discoveries. All the other sciences, with the exception, perhaps, of pure mathematics, have some amusing side in their character, or are capable of having amusement extracted from them by appropriate literary means. Thus, chemistry (properly seasoned) furnishes quite lively subjects of interest, as does geology also. So do astronomy, optics, and many other onomies and ics, which, accordingly, deservedly occupy their permanent though humble positions among the subjects of general literature. But from the syllogism in comprehension, or from the integral calculus, it is not easy to obtain interesting matter for light reading; and little more amusement can be furnished by taking the opposite tack, and poking fun at such respectable branches of knowledge.

There was a day, however, when philosophy was a young science, and it in that far time had, to a slight extent, the playful habits of youth, when it would in rare moments forget its usual occupation of arranging and fathoming the universe, and with ponderous humour, by the mouth of a disciple, give forth some puzzle of a more amusing character than the great problems of existence and knowledge, the discovery of whose solution formed its principal business, and to which desirable end it is still busily engaged.

Thus, the celebrated and well-known puzzle of Achilles and the tortoise was invented by Zeno of Elea some centuries before Christ, and furnishes a good example of this philosophical play. This problem is as follows: If Achilles and a tortoise were to run a race, and Achilles were to run ten times as fast as the tortoise, if the latter had the start, Achilles would never overtake the tortoise, as can be thus shown: Suppose them at the starting of Achilles to be separated by a space of a thousand feet, when Achilles has run this thousand, the tortoise would have run a hundred, and when Achilles had run this hundred, the tortoise would have run ten, and so on for ever. The sophism has even been considered insoluble by many philosophers, and among others by Dr. Thomas Brown, since it actually leads to an absurd conclusion by a sound argument. The fallacy lies in the concealed assumption that what is infinitely divisible is also infinite.

Amongst other famous ancient dialectic problems are the following dilemmas, which are framed with wonderful ingenuity, the acuteness displayed in their construction being probably unsurpassed. The first is called Syllogismus Crocodilus, and may be thus stated: An infant, while playing on the bank of a river, was seized by a crocodile. The mother, hearing its cries, rushed to its assistance, and by her tearful entreaties obtained a promise from the crocodile (who was obviously of the highest intelligence) that he would give it her back if she would tell him truly what would happen to it. On this, the mother (perhaps rashly) asserted: "*You will not give it back.*" The crocodile answers to this: "If you have spoken truly, I cannot give back the child without destroying the truth of your assertion; if you have spoken falsely, I cannot give back the child, because you have not fulfilled the agreement; therefore, I cannot give it back whether you have spoken truly or falsely." The mother retorted: "If I have spoken truly, you must give back the child, by virtue of your agreement; if I have spoken falsely, that can only be when you have given back the child; so that, whether I have spoken truly or falsely, the child must be given back." History is silent as to the issue of this remarkable dispute.

Of a similar nature is the other example above mentioned, which is even more acutely stated. A young man named Euathlus received lessons in rhetoric from Protagoras, it being agreed that a certain fee should be paid if the pupil were successful in the first cause he pleaded. Euathlus, however, neglected to undertake any cause, and Protagoras in order to obtain his fee, was compelled to sue him. Euathlus defended himself in the court, and it was consequently the young man's first suit. The master argued thus: "If I be successful in this cause, O Euathlus, you will be compelled to pay by virtue of the sentence of these righteous judges; and should I even be unsuccessful, you will then have to pay me in fulfilment of your original contract." To this the apt pupil replied: "If I be successful, O master, I shall be free by the sentence of these righteous judges; and even if I be unsuccessful, I shall be free by virtue of the contract." The story states that such convincing arguments thus diametrically opposed completely staggered the judges, who, being quite unable to decide, postponed the judgment *sine die*.*

We, being guided by other lights, and looking on things with juster notions than in the early days of knowledge, can smile at the seemingly trifling schemes of philosophy, which were serious enough when first propounded. Just as, in laughing at the stiff expression and angular contortions of the pre-Raphaelite paintings, we forget that they represent what was believed to be the truth in art of those days, and see only the incongruity of the odd caricatures of humanity which they form. At a time when methods of observation and experiment were nearly unknown, or held in serene contempt, it is not strange that the early notions of the nature of things should be somewhat queer, and in this sense they certainly have a ludicrous side. Thus, Thales of Miletus, who lived about 640 B.C., from reasons only known to himself, taught and believed that the earth was a living being, and that all things were formed from water. This latter notion was contradicted by another famous philosopher and successor, Anaximenes, also of Miletus, who taught that all things were formed from air, which was the primal and universal element. Another celebrated philosopher, Heraclitus of Ephesus, in delightful unanimity with the preceding, believed that fire was the life of all things. This last furthermore taught that the sun was a mere meteor, not exceeding twelve feet in size, and was of necessity extinguished and rekindled afresh each day. Zeno of Elea, above referred to, was, as may be imagined from the example of his powers which has been given, a most acute and bold reasoner, which talents, however, were employed on somewhat destructive principles. His argument for the non-existence of space affords an example. He asks: Wherein is space? For if all that exists must be in space, then must that space itself be in some other space; and so on *ad infin.*; but this is absurd: therefore space itself cannot exist, as it cannot be in some other space. In a dispute with Protagoras, Zeno inquired whether a grain of corn, or the ten-thousandth part of a grain, falling to the ground would make any sound, and was told it would not. He then inquired whether a measure of corn would, and was told it would. He then retorted, that since a measure was composed of a certain definite number of grains, it followed, that either a grain produces a noise in falling, or the measure does not.

It is a sad fact that impatient spirits, after a long course of serious teaching or exercise, are apt to find an improper pleasure in modified profanity, especially as the latter has, to a great extent, the dangerous quality of being at first sight rather entertaining.

A celebrated instance of ingenious fallacy is that propounded as a just argument by Diodorus Chronos, who, by this fallacy, claimed to prove the impossibility of motion. He argues thus: All that a body does, must be done either in the place where it is, or else in the place where it is not. Now, it cannot move in the place where it is, and much less can it move in the place where it is not. Consequently, it cannot move at all, and therefore motion is impossible. It is related that the inventor of this sophism on one occasion dislocated his shoulder, and was compelled to send for a surgeon to set it. The leech assured the philosopher that the shoulder could not possibly be put out at all, since it could not be put out in the place in which it was, nor either in the place in which it was not.

The inverting argument of the lying Cretans is well known; but the reader will excuse its quotation for the sake of illustration, and for the chance of its being new to some out of the many. St. Paul says (Titus i. 12, 13): "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said: The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. This witness is true." The Cretans being always liars; the prophet was a Cretan, therefore he was a liar, and lied when he said they were always liars. Consequently, the Cretans are not always liars. Again, since he was a Cretan, he was not always a liar. Therefore, the Cretans are always liars, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Another good instance is that quoted by a recent American writer, who shows, by a perfectly just argument, that the much-used maxim, "All rules have their exceptions," is really self-contradictory. If all rules have exceptions, this maxim is itself a rule, and therefore must also have its exceptions. Consequently, the proverb at the same time affirms that all rules have their exceptions, and that some rules do not, which is an obvious case of proverbial suicide.

With regard to more trivial instances of logical profanity, I must quote one which is frequently employed in private life with much exasperating effect, and is also found by cross-examining counsel a serviceable mode of confounding a witness, and simultaneously throwing dust in the eyes of a jury. This process has, moreover, the pleasant, compact, logical name of *fallacia heterozeteos*. It consists in desiring to have either a direct negative or affirmative answer to a question, which, being done, a question respecting any desired improbability can then be asked, as, for instance: "Have you cut off your tail yet?" If the answer be yes, it is of course an admission that the examinee once had a tail; while, if the reply be no, it is assumed to be an admission that he still possesses that unusual personal ornament. A somewhat similar process is involved in the inquiry of a man: "How long he has left off beating his father?" It will be seen what a wide field of vexation a skilful use of this process can command. As an example, in strong contrast to the foregoing, the following problem may be cited as an interesting but somewhat hopeless subject of inquiry—namely, What is the effect of an irresistible force striking an immovable sphere?

It may be observed with regard to the foregoing illustrations, that they start from the borders of serious argument, and descending by degrees, they travel first through ingenious, and then trivial quibbles. Continuing the descent, we should finally arrive in the extensive region of jokes (but before arriving at that stage of debasement, it is better to quit the subject). In fact, it has been justly observed, that jests generally are merely examples of faulty reasoning, and consequently have their place in the classification of logical fallacies. They preserve just so much of the appearance of just argument as to please by appealing to the mind, while the absurdity or incongruity of the conclusion produces a ludicrous effect, which the implied irreverence may have its share in intensifying. Thus, puns can generally be identified with the fallacy which logicians call ambiguous middle; while that conversational luxury which the outer world call, 'chaff,' can be named by the more dignified terms of ignoratio elenchi and illicit processes.

The many and various kinds of popular and feminine arguments, which are frequently found so mystifying and unanswerable, from the amount of dust which they throw into the eyes of their less ready victims, might be probably dissected and classified with unspeakable advantage to the latter. But it is to be feared that in the domestic regions where they prevail, such formal warfare would be contemptuously scouted; and abject submission is probably a safer mode of meeting their attacks.

* The famous legal case of the Bridge, which was decided by His Excellency Sancho Panza, Governor of the island of Barataria, might be cited as companion-example to the above; but is it not written in the books of the *Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha?*

AUCTION SALE AT THE EUSTIS ESTATE.

INTERESTING AND CURIOUS RELICS.

From the Boston Advertiser.

ONE of the most stately and venerable mansions in the vicinity of Boston is that known as the Eustis Estate, on the street of the same name near the Dorchester line in Roxbury. It was built in 1743 by the royal Gov. Shirley, who brought its oak frame from England. Situated on a commanding eminence, and surmounted by an observatory, it has an excellent view of the city and harbor of Boston, and of the neighboring cities and villages. It has never been remodelled, and retains most of the characteristics of the architecture of the last century, prominent among which is the large central hall, surrounded by a gallery, and containing the grand staircase, connected with which is one of the traditions of the house, to the effect that Daniel Webster once remarked that "the old Governor might have driven up to bed with his coach and four." The drawing rooms of the old mansion are small, and its chambers low, compared with the standard of modern days; but its piazzas are as broad, its wine cellars as capacious, and its conservatory as large as the most fastidious taste could desire in a new house. With the numerous attractions which the place possesses, it is not unnatural that it should have been occupied in times past by the most distinguished people in the land. Gen. George Washington had his quarters here for a time during the siege of Boston. Gov. Eustis afterwards came into possession of the estate, and here he entertained Lafayette during his visit to Boston in 1824. Since the death of the Governor, now forty years ago, his widow has resided in the house, having a life interest in the property. Her death occurred during the present autumn, and yesterday the heirs of the estate, the descendants of Gov. Eustis, sold the household furniture by public auction.

Mr. Joseph Leonard was the auctioneer. The fame of the sale had gone forth far and wide, and the ancient house and its grounds were thronged with an assembly of nearly a thousand people. The road leading to the door was crowded for a long distance with carriages, which were constantly getting entangled in endeavors to turn in the narrow space. The pressure about the auctioneer was at times fearful, and many went away in despair of getting near enough to see the articles sold or to hear the bids. While the sale was going on in the hall, the crowd in the balcony above was so great that there were very serious fears lest the old wood should give way and turn the occasion into a tragedy; but the British timbers were staunch, and all passed off very pleasantly. The attendance was made up of the best people in Roxbury, and many from Boston, more desirous to look over the old mansion and its treasures than to buy; of virtuosos and antiquarians in search of relics; and of dealers and housekeepers looking out for bargains in furniture and crockery. The bidding was always spirited, and the prices obtained for the glass and china were especially good. The purchasers were many times so excited and so eager to obtain possession of coveted articles as to be in danger of quarrels among each other, and often tried the patience of the cheerful and affable auctioneer very severely.

The most notable article sold outside the house was the family coach, a most curious piece of antiquity, looking as if it might date back as far as the famous "one horse shay," accommodating four persons, and set so high upon its springs that quite a flight of steps were required to enter it. Many of the visitors to the sale tried its seats, and reported it quite as comfortable as the common run of vehicles now in use. The carriage, which was built by Knowles & Thayer, of Amherst, brought $15, only about the value of the old iron to be obtained by knocking it to pieces. The purchaser sold it five minutes afterwards for double the amount paid, to Mr. Fred F. Hassam.

The articles sold in the house were mostly small ones, and so numerous that the auction lasted from ten in the morning until after three in the afternoon. We can refer to only a few of the most noteworthy. A Sienna marble tobacco-box, which has stood in the hall for three-quarters of a century, with some of the tobacco placed in it seventy years ago, brought $75. A portrait on ivory of the Duchess of Orleans, presented by herself to Gov. Eustis in 1799, brought $37 50. A superb dinner set, composed of about two hundred pieces, china with gilt ornaments, brought $105. A white fish dish, announced as having belonged to Lord Byron, brought only $2. Thirty-two dusty and cobwebbed bottles of fine old Madeira, which had three times crossed the Atlantic, were sold, the first one for $25, and the rest for $14 each. A small box containing all the implements necessary for playing chess, backgammon, draughts and cribbage, sold for $5. Gov. Eustis' malacca cane, with a gold and ivory head, was sold for $18; his wife's work-box, fully furnished, for $7.

A large painting, representing a carnival scene in Venice, hung in the grand hall, which was said to have been taken by Napoleon I. to Paris at the time of the conquest of Italy, and brought twenty years later to this country, by Gov. Eustis. It was not offered for sale, the proprietorship of it being disputed.

The "state chamber" of the mansion was occupied by Lafayette during his last visit to this country; none of its furniture has been disturbed since, and the room has always borne his name. The bedstead, an old fashioned canopy four-poster with rich curtains of white and green, on which Washington, Lafayette, and